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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE task of teaching history to the middle and upper forms of schools presents many difficulties. Even when the best text-book has been mastered, there is something wanting, for the highest value of history as an educational subject lies not in the exercise of the memory only, but in the training of the reasoning power. Every teacher of history knows three degrees of interest which boys take: first and least, in that which they read in a book; secondly, in what they are told by way of supplement to the book; third, and best of all, in what they infer for themselves. History should not merely be learnt, but understood; and the smallest efforts of the pupil towards tracing causes and effects for himself and drawing inferences from the facts which he learns are worth more than the most glib repetition of observations cut and dried in the text-book.

The series of which this volume forms a part is framed on a new plan. It is made up of extracts from writers either strictly contemporary or else who

lived so near the period which they describe that they can be regarded as first-hand authorities. The extracts have been chosen, not with a view of discussing knotty historical points, but to make clear and vivid the great events. By reading them a boy will have before him a view of the time as some of the men of the time saw it. Finally, to supplement the historians, extracts are given from political songs and verse, and in some cases from the writings of poets who though not contemporary, yet illustrate the historical events they describe.

Volumes of this kind must be a useful supplement to any text-book, which, however good it is, is bound by its very nature to fail in giving the historical and literary atmosphere of the times, and further is often hindered by its limits of space from giving any but the briefest description of events. To all teachers who wish to go beyond the text-book, this series will be a valuable storehouse of illustration. Advanced students, from whom nowadays some knowledge of contemporary authorities is expected, will find these volumes spare them much trouble by collecting for them a mass of information which otherwise they would have to seek among a multitude of books. Finally, those to whom chroniclers' Latin and medieval French are a stumbling-block, will welcome the translations here offered.

But it is confidently hoped that these volumes will have a use, beyond being a mere supplement for

the teacher and the advanced student. They have been designed principally to serve as text-books, or rather to supply the place of text-books, in the hands of a class.

The extracts have been so chosen as to give an account of all the principal events in the period covered, either in their chronological order or in their logical connection. An analysis of the period is given at the end of each volume, to be a guide to the reader and to refresh his memory. Some additional information is offered in notes, though this is done sparingly, since it should be the work of the teacher to supply the explanations that are needed. Further, where archaic English would present any serious difficulty, the spelling, and in some cases the diction of the authorities has been simplified.

It is true that the use of these books may demand from the teacher more careful preparation of his history lesson than has sometimes been given in the past. But the old way of asking cut-and-dried questions out of the text-book and getting cut-and-dried answers is being fast discarded as unsatisfactory: there are few teachers who would grudge trouble if their work were to produce better results. And it is certain that infinitely better results are got from teaching that is largely explanation by word of mouth, than from mere reading and questioning on a text-book, since the pupils are thus trained to think for themselves instead of having their thinking

done for them. Understanding is a far more attractive process than merely learning. A multitude of disconnected facts is merely a burden to the memory ; on the other hand the mind is strengthened by the practice of drawing inferences, and putting together cause and effect. These volumes are meant to encourage the reasoning powers as well as the memory.

Two other features in the series remain for notice. Each volume is accompanied by notices of the writers from whom extracts are taken, and also by a set of bibliographical notes on the most useful authorities, modern as well as contemporary, so that the student has before him information for a more complete investigation of any point. And further, while to the volumes are assigned such limits as are commonly chosen for periods of our history, each volume is divisible into two parts, either of which can be supplied separately, so that the series can be adapted for the study of shorter periods which are sometimes required for examination.

G. T. W.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

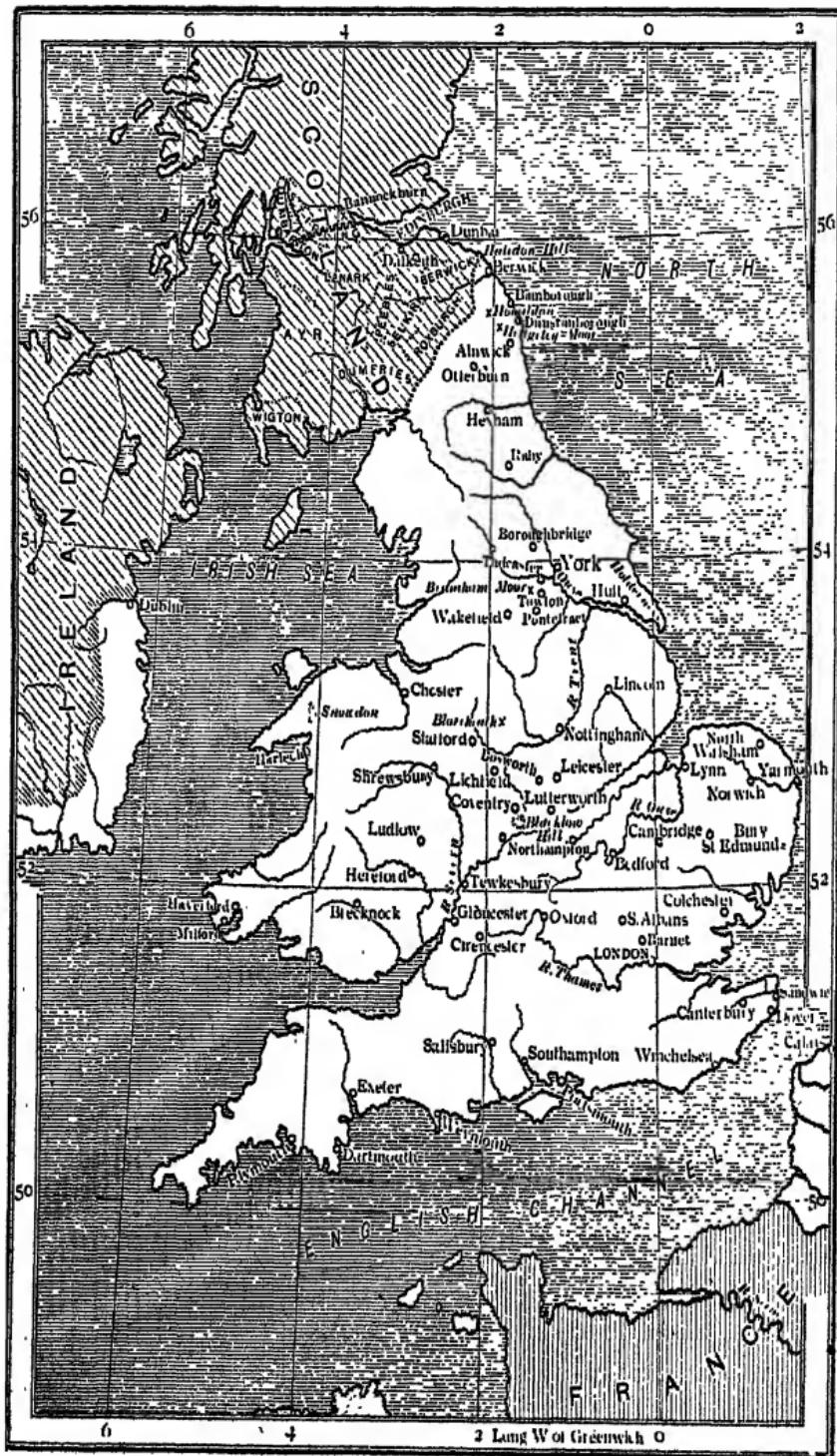
I HAVE to acknowledge with many thanks the kindness of the Master of the Rolls and Sir E. M. Thompson for permission to use certain of the latter's translations in his edition of Adam Murimuth and Robert of Avesbury ; also of Messrs. Macmillan for the use of Palgrave's *Crecy*.

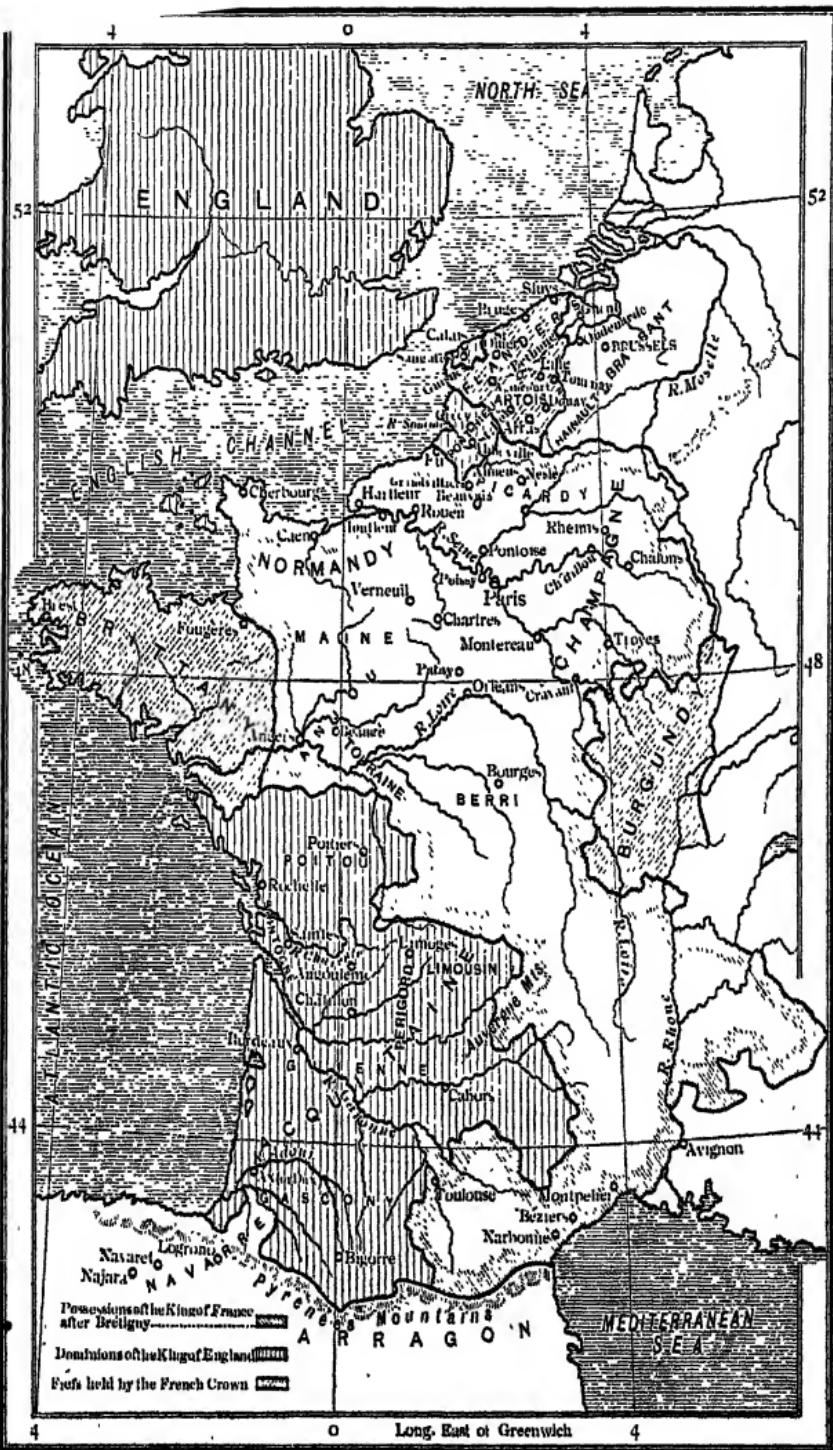
I am much indebted to Mr. C. S. Fearnside for kindly reading through part of the proofs and for many valuable suggestions.

Lastly and chiefly, I have to thank the General Editor for his continual advice and cordial assistance.

N. L. F.

MAPS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE TO ILLUSTRATE
THE PERIOD 1307-1399





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PART I

INTRODUCTION

THE reign of Edward II. shows a lamentable falling-away from the glories of his father's reign. Something may be put down to the spirit of the time. Not only in England but all over Europe the men of the thirteenth century rose to a higher level than those of the fourteenth century. The popes of the earlier age were perhaps more occupied with the politics of this world than was altogether right, but at any rate they were giants in ability and statesmanship when compared with the wretched set who lived at Avignon under the shadow of the French kings. Philip IV. is a type of the fourteenth century ; Louis IX. of the thirteenth. Philip's power was won by being hard, unscrupulous, grasping, relentless. Louis, too, was strong, but it was the strength that comes from honesty and simplicity : he deserved his name of Saint Louis.

We may observe the same decay in England. Simon de Montfort and Thomas of Lancaster have a resemblance. Both were nobles ; both were leaders of a party of reform against the foreign favourites of weak kings ; yet they cannot really be compared.

De Montfort was a patriot, the "founder of the Commons"; Thomas of Lancaster a selfish baron, who strove for power in order to overthrow his personal enemies. Again, if we take the Churchmen, Stephen Langton, of course, stands out without a rival; yet even Edmund Rich and Grosseteste and Winchelsea had higher ideals and played a worthier part than either Wykeham or Courtenay. And yet Wykeham and Courtenay were the most distinguished English Churchmen in the fourteenth century.

Still it is easy to give too much value to the "spirit of the time," which is after all a somewhat vague idea, and to leave out of sight the enormous difference in character between Edward I. and his son. Edward I. was a resolute, just, far-sighted statesman. Consequently his kingdom is prosperous; his barons are kept in order; he chooses good officials; the realm is well governed; the law is observed; abroad, too, he is respected and feared. He struck down Llewelyn and Wallace; Bruce fled before his armies. With the coming of Edward II. all was changed. A favourite like Gaveston was raised to power. Every one was discontented, but the task of reform did not fall into worthy hands. There was a struggle for power, but not for principle. Thomas of Lancaster, Warwick, the Despensers, Mortimer, were all much alike; there is little that is good to be said for any of them. We feel that they are all fighting and intriguing for their own selfish aims. No surprise can be felt that Scotland, which Edward I. had almost subdued, was able to inflict on England the most crushing defeat in her history and win back her independence.

A new hope arose with the accession of Edward III., and indeed the first period of his reign, down to the Treaty of Bretigny (1360), is almost unparalleled in its brilliance. The Scottish raids into the north of England were checked. English military power revived in a most startling way. Edward showed singular ability in the tactics of war. He understood the value of the English archer; the lesson which the Scotch learned at Halidon was dinned into the French at Sluys, Crecy, and Poitiers. The feudal cavalry which had so long believed itself to be invincible had at last found its master. The English archer taught Europe that a new era in the art of war had begun.

The results of this were dazzling in its own day, and they are a little apt to dazzle us still. We are inclined to see some extraordinary national qualities in the race that even when hopelessly outnumbered, could win pitched battles against what was regarded as the first military nation of Europe. No doubt the spirit of Englishmen was high, but we must not forget that the advantage which the archer held when backed by sturdy infantry was little less than that which the rifleman enjoys over the savage. And further, though Edward III. was not destitute of shrewdness, though he used his power to win in the Treaty of Bretigny a control over the south-west wine-producing district of France, though he fostered our wool trade by a connection with Flanders, though he did his best to help commerce by claiming and maintaining a sovereignty of the sea,—yet the glory and prosperity that spring from military renown, and are based on the easy-gotten wealth of plunder, do

not endure. The Black Death sapped the strength of England by robbing her of near a half of the population, and left behind it a hostility between lord and labourer that was new in our history, and most ominous in character. No doubt our failure to maintain our power in France during the latter part of Edward III.'s reign and under Richard II. was due in part to the wiser tactics of the French, who refused to meet us in the field ; in part also to our losing the command of the sea ; but it was still more due to the fact that England was poor and disunited.

G. T. W.

ENGLISH HISTORY
FROM
CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

1. THE RECALL OF GAVESTON

1307. *Christopher Marlowe, "Ed. II," i. 1.*
1590.

Gaveston (reading a letter).

*My father is deceas'd ! Come, Gaveston,
And share the kingdom with thy dearest friend.*
Ah, words that make me surfeit with delight !
What greater bliss can hap to Gaveston,
Than live and be the favourite of a king !
Sweet prince, I come ; these, these thy amorous lines
Might have enforc'd me to have swum from France,
And, like Leander, gasp'd upon the sand,
So thou would'st smile, and take me in thine arms.
The sight of London to my exil'd eyes
Is as Elysium to a new-come soul ;
Not that I love the city, or the men,
But that it harbours him I hold so dear,--
The king, upon whose bosom let me lie,
And with the world be still at enmity.

What need the arctic people love star-light,
To whom the sun shines both by day and night?
Farewell base stooping to the lordly peers!
My knee shall bow to none but to the king.

2. PIERS GAVESTON

1307. *Translated from Latin of Adam Murimuth, 11-18.
Before 1347.*

Edward I. was succeeded by Edward of Carnarvon, his son, who recalled Piers Gaveston from exile, and gave him the earldom of Cornwall, and married him to his sister's child, the daughter of the earl of Gloucester; and he was ruled entirely by this Piers, and paid no heed to the counsels of the other nobles, especially those whose advice had been particularly sought by his father. . . . The nobles therefore in indignation showed great hostility to Gaveston, as was afterwards clearly shown by the sequel. . . . For it was afterwards decided in parliament, by the prelates, earls, and nobles there assembled, that he should be exiled from the realm of England for the evil counsel that he had given to the king. But the king escorted him as far as Bristol, and sent him to Ireland, giving him supreme command of that country. And there he kept royal state, and was right popular, for he was sociable and generous in bestowing gifts and in obtaining honours and lands for his followers. . . . However, in the year 1309 he returned from Ireland, and became the king's private adviser and ruler as before; whereat almost all the prelates and nobles of the realm were

moved to great wrath. . . . In the year 1311 there arose great strife between the king of England and the nobles of the realm on his account. Now about the feast of S. John the Baptist the king desired that Gaveston should be brought to him by Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, for greater security; and when they were near Banbury the earl sent him away by night, and he came to a place on the road. And at daybreak on the morrow came Guy, earl of Warwick, with a small escort in pursuit, and surprised Gaveston, and took him with him to his castle of Warwick. Afterwards, upon consultation with the chief men of the realm, and especially with Thomas, earl of Lancaster, he at last set him free from prison to go where he would. But when he went forth from the town of Warwick to a place called, as if prophetically, Gaversike, he found there a number of men who came against him with shouts and horns, as against the king's enemy and a real outlaw. And in the end they beheaded him as such on the 19th day of June.

3. THE DEATH OF GAVESTON

1312.

*Christopher Marlowe, "Ed. II.," iii. 2.
1590.*

King Edward (kneeling).

By earth, the common mother of us all,
By heaven, and all the moving orbs thereof,
By this right hand, and by my father's sword,
And all the honours longing to my crown,
I will have heads, and lives for him, as many
As I have manors, castles, towns, and towers! [Rises]

Treacherous Warwick ! traitorous Mortimer !
 If I be England's king, in lakes of gore
 Your headless trunks, your bodies will I trail,
 That you may drink your fill, and quaff in blood.
 And stain my royal standard with the same,
 That so my bloody colours may suggest
 Remembrance of revenge immortally
 On your accursèd traitorous progeny,
 You villains, that have slain my Gaveston !
 And in his place of honour and of trust,
 Spenser, sweet Spenser, I adopt thee here :
 And merely of our love we do create thee
 Earl of Gloucester, and Lord Chamberlain,
 Despite of times, despite of enemies.

4. SOME OF THE ORDINANCES

1311.

Statutes, i. 159-160.

[IX. *That the king go not out of the realm*.]—Forasmuch as the king ought not to undertake deed of war against any one, nor to go out of his realm, but by common consent of his baronage, for the many perils that may happen to him and his realm, we do ordain that the king henceforth shall not go out of his realm nor undertake against any one deed of war, without the common assent of his baronage, and that in Parliament.

[X. *That all prises shall cease*.]—And forasmuch as it is feared that the people of the land will rise, for the prises and divers oppressions made in these times, especially because it was heretofore ordained that the king should live of his own, without

making prises other than those anciently due and accustomed, and all others should cease, and nevertheless prises are made from day to day against that ordinance, as before ; we do ordain that all prises shall cease from henceforth, saving the prises ancient, rightful, and due to the king and to others to whom they are due of right. And if any prises be made contrary to the ordinance aforesaid, by whomsoever it be, or of whatsoever condition he be ; that is to say, if any, by colour of making purveyance to the use of our lord the king, or of another, shall take corn, wares, merchandises, or other manner of goods, against the will of those to whom they belong, and do not render incontinently the money to the very value, if he cannot thereof have respite of the goodwill of the seller, according to that which is comprised in the great charter, the pursuit of the Hue and Cry shall be raised upon him, and he shall be carried to the next gaol of the king, and the common law shall be done of him as of a robber or thief, if he be thereof attainted.

[XIII. *Of removing evil counsellors from the king*.]—And forasmuch as the king hath been evil guided and counselled by bad counsellors, as is aforesaid, we do ordain that all evil counsellors be put away and removed altogether, so that neither they nor other such be near him, nor retained in any office of the king, and other more fit people be put in their places ; and in the same manner shall it be done of their servants and people of office, and of others who are in the king's household, who are not fit.

[XIV. *Of appointing the king's officers and ministers*.]—And forasmuch as many evils have

come to pass by such counsellors and such ministers, we do ordain that the king do make the chancellor, chief justice of the one bench and the other, the treasurer, the chancellor and chief baron of the exchequer, the steward of his household, the keeper of his wardrobe, and comptroller, and a fit clerk to keep the privy seal, a chief keeper of the forests on this side Trent, and another on the other side of Trent, and the chief clerk of the king in the common bench, by the council and assent of his baronage and that in Parliament. And if it happen by any chance that it be expedient to appoint any of the said ministers before there be a Parliament, then the king shall appoint thereto by the good counsel which he shall have near him, until the Parliament.

[XV. *Wardens of ports, etc.*].—Likewise we do ordain that all the chief wardens of the ports and the castles upon the sea shall be appointed and made in the form aforesaid, and that such wardens be themselves people of the land.

[XVI. *Of appointing ministers in Gascony, Ireland, and Scotland*].—And forasmuch as the lands of Gascony, Ireland, and Scotland be in peril of being lost for want of good ministers, we do ordain that good and sufficient ministers be appointed to keep watch in the said lands, in the form contained in the second article next above.

5. THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN

1314.

*Translated from Latin of
"Chronicle of Lancastor," 225-228.
Circ. 1345.*

Now before the festival of the Nativity of S.

John the Baptist, the king collected the whole of his army into one host, and with the aforesaid array drew nigh to the castle of Stirling to raise the siege, and to fight with the Scots who were assembled there in force ; and on S. John's eve after dinner the king's army came to Torr Wood ; and when it was heard that the Scots were in the wood, the king's vanguard, led by lord Clifford, wished to surround the wood, to prevent the Scots from escaping by flight. Now the Scots suffered this, till the English were completely cut off from their friends, and then they showed themselves and charged that vanguard ; some they slew and the rest they put to flight, and from that hour there was fear among the English, and greater boldness on the part of the Scots.

On the following day—a dark day for England, unlucky and ill-omen'd,—when either side was preparing for battle, the English archers advanced in front of their line, and were met by Scottish archers. On either side some were wounded and some killed ; but the English archers soon put the others to flight. Now when the two armies had drawn very near together, all the Scots knelt down and said a " paternoster," and commended themselves to God, and asked help of heaven ; and thereafter they boldly marched against the English. They had so arranged their host that two lines were in front of the third, side by side, in such a way that neither marched in front of the other ; and the third line was in the rear, and there was Robert. Now when both armies met and the English chargers galloped against the Scottish spears, as

against a thick wood, there arose an exceeding great and terrible noise from the breaking of spears, and from chargers mortally wounded ; and so they halted for a space. But the English in the rear could not reach the Scots because of their vanguard in between, and they could in no way help themselves, and so nothing remained but to arrange for flight. And this account I heard from a credible witness who was there present, and saw what happened. In that vanguard were slain the earl of Gloucester, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir John Comyn, Sir Payen de Typetot, Sir Edmond de Mauley, and many other nobles—to make no mention of the infantry who fell in great numbers. Moreover, another misfortune occurred to the English, because, after crossing a great pit, into which the tide flows, and which is called the Bannockburn, they fell into confusion and wished to retreat ; but many nobles and others, on account of the press, fell in with their horses ; some with great difficulty escaped, but many could never get out of the pit ; and so the name of Bannockburn was familiar to the English for many years to come.

Now the king and Sir Hugh Despenser, who after Piers Gaveston was his chief favourite, and Sir Henry Beaumont, together with many other horse and foot, with a Scottish knight for guide, who knew by what route they could escape, to their everlasting shame fled like cravens towards the castle of Dunbar. Some, however, more tardy in their flight, were slain by the Scots, who followed hard in pursuit. At Dunbar the king, with some of his more immediate followers, put out in a boat towards

Berwick, leaving all the rest to their fate, but they arrived safe and sound in England in due course. . . . After this victory Robert Bruce was unanimously called king of Scotland, because he had won Scotland by force of arms.

6. ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE

*Translated from Latin of Baker of Swinbrook, 146.
Cirr. 1358.*

On that night [June 23] you might have seen the English host deep in their cups, wassailing and toasting immoderately ; on the other hand the Scots silently kept the vigil fasting, their every thought centred in their desire for their country's freedom ; and this desire, though ungrounded, was vehement and equal to all risks. On the morrow the Scots seized the most advantageous position, and dug pits three feet deep and as wide across, stretching along the whole line from the right wing to the left ; these they covered over with a light framework of twigs and osiers, that is to say with hurdles ; and then over the top they strewed turf and grass ; so that men could cross them on foot with care, but they could not support the weight of cavalry. In accordance with their royal leader's commands none of the Scots were mounted, and their army, drawn up in the usual divisions, was posted in solid formation at no great distance from this pit which had been warily, not to say craftily, set between themselves and the English. On the other side, as the English army advanced from the west, the rising sun flashed upon their golden shields and polished helms. Their vanguard consisted of light horse and heavy cavalry,

all unconscious of the Scots' pit with its cunningly contrived light covering ; in the second division were men-at-arms and archers held in reserve to give chase to the enemy ; in the third was the king with the bishops and other churchmen, and among them the brave knight Hugh Spenser. The cavalry of the vanguard advanced against the enemy, and fell headlong as their horses stumbled into the ditch with their fore-feet caught in the broken hurdles ; and when these fell through, the enemy came up and slew them, giving quarter only to the rich for ransom. . . . And in this disaster some were slain by our archers who had not had a proper position assigned to them, but formerly stood in the rear of the men-at-arms, whereas now they take up their position on the flank. When they saw the Scots fiercely attack those who had fallen into the ditch, some aimlessly aimed their arrows into the air, on the chance of falling in the joints of the enemy's armour, and some shot straight at the Scots and hit a few of them in the breast, but at the same time struck many more of the English in the back. So came to nothing the pomp of the day before, for the king with the bishops and De Spenser took the precaution of flight. . . .

7. BRUCE TO HIS MEN AT BANNOCKBURN

1314.

Robert Burns.
1786.

Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled ;
 Scots, wham Bruce has often led ;
 Welcome to your gory bed,
 Or to victorie !

Now's the day, and now's the hour ;
 See the front o' battle low'r ;
 See approach proud Edward's pow'r—
 Chains and slaverie !

Wha will be a traitor knave ?
 Wha can fill a coward's grave ?
 Wha sae base as be a slave ?
 Let him turn and flee !

Wha for Scotland's king and law
 Freedom's sword will strongly draw,
 Freeman stand, or freeman fa',
 Let him follow me !

By oppression's woes and pains,
 By your sons in servile chains,
 We will drain our dearest veins,
 But they shall be free !

Lay the proud usurpers low !
 Tyrants fall in every foe !
 Liberty's in every blow !
 Let us do, or die !

8. LETTER OF THE EARL OF LANCASTER TO EDWARD II.

1317.

*Trans. by Sir E. M. Thompson from Latin
of Adam Murimuth, 274.
Before 1347.*

Most dear lord, we did receive two letters under
 your great seal, by the hands of my lord William of
 Dene at Ashbourne in the Peak, on the 21st day

of July ; whereof the tenour of the one letter was, that you were made to understand that we and ours had made two gatherings and confederations, contrary to your forbidding, and that we and ours had made retainings of much folk, promising to have them without number, and hereon we were to give our bond, to the disturbance of your peace and the affrighting of your people. Please you, most dear lord, to know that we have made no gathering in disturbance of your peace, nor, in any manner, retaining of men against you and against your peace, by the help of God. And, most dear lord, as touching the other letter, whereby you bade us be with you this Thursday, the 21st day of July, at Nottingham, for to treat with you and certain prelates and great lords and others of your council, which shall there be found, for that the Scots, our enemies, are newly entered into your realm, doing murders, robberies, burnings, and other wrongs without number : for that we come not on that day we pray you have us excused, for we are not in a state to travail. And, moreover, sire, it behoveth you to remember that, at your last parliament, holden at Lincoln, forasmuch as the governance of your realm was guided by people no wise sufficient, you did consent that the archbishop of Canterbury ; the bishops of Llandaff, Chichester, Norwich, and Salisbury ; the earls of Pembroke, Hereford, Arundel, Richmond, and we, with my lord Bartholomew of Badelsmere, should make ordain, by advice of the wise men sworn of your council, how your estate might be redressed and the governance of your realm and household better ordered, and that unfitting persons should be removed away from you

for ever and in no wise kept in your service, and that the ordinances should be confirmed and established ; . . . but of the same you have never yet kept any. . . . But you have held these persons dearer than they were before, and others you have newly taken to you, which are of the same condition, and do give them of your substance daily, so that little or nothing remaineth unto you. . . . The ordinances made in the time of archbishop Robert you have in no point kept ; whereby the people is much injured. . . . And, sire, marvel you ought not that we come not on this day, for the matters whereon you would have our counsel, advice, and assent, according to what you bade us, ought to be treated in full parliament and in presence of the peers of the land. To do this, sire, we are sworn ; and so it behoveth you not, sire, to will that we come anywhere to treat outside parliament of the things that should be treated of in parliament, contrary to our oath and to yours, sworn in like manner.

9. THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEA

1320. *Translated from French of Rymer, "Foedera," ii. 434.*

[The following is from a treaty with Flanders, arising out of piracy on the part of some Englishmen off Finisterre.]

Before the Council of the king and the Flemish ambassadors, sent to the king on these matters, it was shown that Flemish merchants, on their way from different parts in that direction, with their wines and other merchandise, on the English sea, off Craudon, were robbed of their wines and merchandise,

amounting to a great sum, by English pirates ; and that these goods, thus pirated, were taken ashore in England ;

And they begged that the king, of his lordship and royal power, would have law and punishment inflicted for the said offence, forasmuch as he is lord of the sea, and the said robbery was committed on the sea within his power, as is set forth above :

Wherefore it is the intention of the said king and of his Council that those who took part in this piracy, or others who, cognisant of it, received the pirates and the pirated goods, all or part, be charged and punished for it accordingly.

1st October, 1320.

[In connection with this admission of the Flemings should be read the claim advanced by Edward III. 1336. It is contained in a despatch to his admirals with orders to attack the enemy's fleet, then lying in the harbours of Normandy and Brittany ready to make a descent upon England. "We, considering that our progenitors, kings of England, were lords of the English sea on every side, and also defenders against invasions of enemies before these times, should be much grieved if our royal honour in such defence should perish or be in aught diminished in our time (which God forbid), and are desirous (the Lord helping) to obviate such perils, and to provide for the defence and safety of our realm and people, and to avert the malice of our foes."—*Scots Rolls* i. 442.]

10. RISING AGAINST THE DESPENSERS

1321. *Translated from Latin of Adam Murimuth, 33.
Before 1347.*

In this year [1321] there was a rising of the earls and barons of England, out of hatred for lord

Hugh Despenser, the younger ; for he had an entire ascendancy over the king, and did not allow him to be of service to any one but himself ; nor did he suffer any noble of the realm to gain audience with the king save on rare occasions, when he himself heard the conversation, and gave a reply in accordance with his own will and pleasure. And so they seized and laid waste all the property belonging to himself and his father and their followers in Wales, and on the border and in England. The avowed leaders of the barons were the earl of Hereford, Roger Mortimer, Maurice Berkeley, and many others ; while the earl of Lancaster was in open sympathy with them, and the earl of Pembroke their secret well-wisher. Hugh himself sometimes was beyond seas, and sometime lay hid on board a vessel at sea, according to the king's orders. At last, in a parliament held at Westminster on the Feast of the Assumption, they were exiled, father and son, in their absence ; this was done in defiance of the king's pleasure, but he did not dare to protest. The decree was obeyed by the father, but not by the son, who remained in hiding at sea till the dissolution of parliament. Afterwards the king joined him, and took him by sea to Harwich, where they arranged how they could take vengeance on the barons. This happened shortly before the Feast of St. Michael. . . . And about December 10 the Archbishop summoned a council at London, which was scantily attended owing to the dangers of travelling and the short notice ; and it was decided there by the few prelates present that the sentence of exile against the Despensers was a mistake ; and

the king with his Council declared their exile invalid and recalled them.

11. THE NOBLES AND THE DESPENSERS

1321. *Christopher Marlowe, "Ed. II,"* iii. 2.
1590.

Herald. Long live King Edward, England's lawful lord!

K. Edward. So wish not they, I wis, that sent thee hither.

Thou com'st from Mortimer and his complices ;
A ranker rout of rebels never was.

Well, say thy message.

Herald. The barons up in arms by me salute Your Highness with long life and happiness.
And bid me say, as plainer to your Grace,
That if without effusion of blood
You will this grief have ease and remedy,
That from your princely person you remove
This Spenser, as a putrefying branch,
That deads the royal vine, whose golden leaves
Empale your princely head, your diadem ;
Whose brightness such pernicious upstarts dim,
Say they, and lovingly advise your grace
To cherish virtue and nobility,
And have old servitors in high esteem,
And shake off smooth dissembling flatterers :
This granted, they, their honours and their lives,
Are to your highness vow'd and consecrate.

K. Edward. Away ! tarry no answer, but be gone !

12. BATTLE OF BORROUGHBIDGE AND EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF LANCASTER

1322. *Translated from Latin of Henry Knighton, i. 424.
Cir. 1360.*

[In 1321 the barons took up arms against the king and the Despensers, but the submission of the Mortimers and others frustrated their purpose.]

The earl of Lancaster, attended by the barons, left the castle and took the field, thinking that he was quite secure, owing to the help promised him by Sir Robert Holland and others, as had been previously arranged between them. For Robert Holland had given his word that he would come with a strong force of men; but he played false. And when the earl perceived that he had been tricked, he turned towards the North; and the king held on steadily in pursuit, step for step. . . . So the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, with the barons and others of their party, reached Borroughbridge, where they were met by Sir Andrew Harkley, and a keen battle was fought at the bridge. And as the earl of Hereford was standing fighting on the bridge, some one reached from under the bridge and struck him with a spear, so that he fell. And there were slain there two strong knights, Sir Roger Berfeld and Sir William Southley, and many others; many others too were grievously wounded. The earl of Lancaster returned with his men to the town of Borroughbridge under a truce till the morrow. But on the morrow he was captured by Sir Andrew Harkley and sent with his men to the king at York.

And the Despensers were greatly pleased at his coming. . . . And when they arrived at York, judges were immediately appointed to try them, and this was greatly owing to the instigation of the Despensers. And so they were all sentenced first to be drawn and then hanged, with the exception of the earl of Lancaster, who, out of consideration to his royal blood, was beheaded at Pontefract, where the king was at the same time, that is to say, on the morrow of S. Benedict [Mar. 21]; and he was buried in the priory of the same town. He was beheaded on a level space outside the town, where there has now been built a church of wondrous design to the honour of God and the memory of the said earl.

13. DESPENSER'S ADVICE TO THE KING

1322. *Christopher Marlowe, "Ed. II,"* iii. 2.
1590.

Younger Despenser. Were I King Edward,
England's sovereign,
Son to the lovely Eleanor of Spain,
Great Edward Longshanks' issue, would I bear
These braves, this rage, and suffer uncontroll'd
These barons thus to beard me in my land,
In mine own realm? My lord, pardon my speech;
Did you retain your father's magnanimity,
Did you regard the honour of your name,
You would not suffer thus your majesty
Be counterbuff'd of your nobility.
Strike off their heads and let them preach on poles:
No doubt, such lessons they will teach the rest,

As by their preachments they will profit much,
And learn obedience to their lawful king.

My lord, refer your vengeance to the sword
Upon these barons ; hearten up your men ;
Let them not unrevenged murder your friends !
Advance your standard, Edward, in the field,
And march to fire them from their starting holes.

14. THE REVOCATION OF THE ORDINANCES

1322.

Statutes, i. 189.

WherCas our lord king Edward, son of king Edward, on the 16th day of March in the third ycar of his reign, to the honour of God and for the weal of himself and his realm, did grant unto the prelates, earls, and barons of his realm that they might choose certain persons of the prelates, earls, and barons, and of other lawful men, whom they should deem sufficient to be called unto them, for the ordaining and establishing the estate of the household of our said lord the king, and of his realm according to right and reason, and to the oath which our said lord the king made at his coronation :

And the archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, the bishops, earls, and barons thereunto chosen, did make certain ordinances :

The which ordinances our said lord the king at his parliament at York, in threeweeks from Easter, in the fifteenth year of his reign did by the prelates, earls, and barons, among whom were the more part of the said ordainers who were then living, and by

the commonalty of his realm, there by his command assembled, cause to be rehearsed and examined: And forasmuch as upon that examination it was found in the said parliament, that by the matters so ordained the royal power of our lord the king was restrained in divers things contrary to what ought to be, to the blemishing of his royal sovereignty and against the estate of the Crown: And also forasmuch as in time past by such ordinances and provisions, made by subjects against the royal power of the ancestors of our lord the king, troubles and wars have happened in the realm, whereby the land hath been in peril, it is accorded and established at the said parliament by our lord the king, and by the said prelates, earls, and barons, and the whole commonalty of the realm at this parliament assembled, that all the things by the said ordainers ordained and contained in the said ordinances shall from henceforth for the time to come cease, and shall lose their name, force, virtue and effect for ever; the statutes and establishments duly made by our lord the king and his ancestors before the said ordinances abiding in their force: And that forever hereafter all manner of ordinances or provisions made by the subjects of our lord the king or of his heirs, by any power or authority whatsoever, concerning the royal power of our lord the king or of his heirs, or against the estate of our said lord the king or of his heirs, or against the estate of the Crown, shall be void, and of no avail or force whatever: But the matters which are to be established for the estate of our lord the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, shall

be treated, accorded, and established in Parliament by our lord the king, and by the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, according as it hath been heretofore accustomed.

15. THE DEPOSITION OF EDWARD II. AND THE CORONATION OF HIS SON

1326-27.

Froissart, c. 6.
1369-73.

The aforesaid king Edward the second governed right diversely his realm by the exhortation of Sir Hugh Spenser, who had been nourished with him since the beginning of his youth; the which Sir Hugh had so enticed the king that his father and he were the greatest masters in all the realm, and by envy thought to surmount all other barons of England, whereby after the great discomfiture that the Scots had made at Stirling great murmuring there arose in England between the noble barons and the king's Council, and namely against Sir Hugh Spenser. And anon when Sir Hugh Spenser had espied this, he purveyed for remedy, for he was so great with the king and so near him that he was more beloved with the king than all the world after. So on a day he came to the king and said, "Sir, certain lords of your realm have made alliance together against you, and without ye take heed thereto betimes, they purpose to put you out of your realm." The said Sir Hugh Spenser achieved great hate in all the realm, and specially of the queen and of the earl of Kent, brother to the king. And when he perceived

the displeasure of the queen, by his subtle wit he set great discord between the king and the queen, so that the king would not see the queen nor come in her company ; the which discord endured a long space. Then was it shown to the queen secretly and to the earl of Kent, that without they took good heed to themselves, they were likely to be destroyed, for Sir Hugh Spenser was about to purchase much trouble to them. Then the queen secretly did purvey to go into France, and took her way as on pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and so to Winchelsea, and in the night went into a ship that was ready for her, and her young son Edward with her, and the earl of Kent and Sir Roger Mortimer ; and the next morning they arrived in the haven of Boulogne.

[The queen, returning, had little difficulty in getting the king and his favourites into her hands.]

And when Christmas was come she held a great court. And thither came dukes, carls, barons, knights and nobles of the realm, with prelates and burgesses of good towns ; and at this assembly it was advised that the realm could not long endure without a head and a chief lord. Then they put in writing all the deeds of the king, who was in prison, and all that he had done by evil counsel, and all his usages and evil behavings, and how evil he had governed his realm, the which was read openly in plain audience, to the intent that the noble sages of the realm might take thereof good advice, and fall at accord how the realm should be governed from thenceforth. And when all the cases and deeds that the king had done and consented to,

and all his behaving and usages were read and well understood, the barons and knights and all the counsels of the realm drew them apart to counsel ; and the most part of them accorded, according as they had heard say and knew themselves the most part of his deeds. Wherefore they concluded that such a man was not worthy to be a king, nor to bear a crown royal, nor to have the name of a king. But they all accorded that Edward, his eldest son, who was there present and was rightful heir, should be crowned king instead of his father, and that the old king, his father, should be well and honestly kept as long as he lived, according to his estate.

And thus as it was agreed by all the nobles, so it was accomplished ; and then was crowned with a crown royal at the palace of Westminster beside London the young king Edward the third, who in his days after was right fortunate and happy in arms.

16. THE KING RESIGNS THE CROWN

1326.

*Christopher Marlowe, "Ed. II," v. 1.
1590.*

Leicester. My lord, the king is willing to resign.

Bish. of Winchester. If he be not, let him choose.

K. Edward. O would I might ! but heavens
and earth conspire

To make me miserable. Here, receive my crown.

Receive it ? no, these innocent hands of mine

Shall not be guilty of so foul a crime :

He of you all that most desires my blood,
And will be call'd the murderer of a king,

Take it. What, are you mov'd? pity you me?
 Then send for unrelenting Mortimer,
 And Isabel, whose eyes, being turn'd to steel,
 Will sooner sparkle fire than shed a tear.
 Yet stay; for rather than I'll look on them,
 Here, here! [*Gives the crown.*] Now, sweet God of
 heaven,
 Make me despise this transitory pomp,
 And sit for aye enthronisèd in heaven!
 Come, death, and with thy fingers close my eyes,
 Or if I live, let me forget myself!

17. THE FATE OF EDWARD II.

1326-27. *Translated from Latin of Robert of Avesbury, 282.*
Before 1356.

[In 1326 queen Isabella returned from France, and proceeded to march against the king.]

Upon this news king Edward and the Despensers, father and son, sent in all directions for men-at-arms from among their retainers to come to their assistance. But when these refused to come to them they were greatly alarmed, and seeking for means of escape, turned towards the west of England. But the Londoners, considering well all that had happened, and hating the Despensers, looted the property of all their followers they could find in the city of London. Some they put to death; among them the holy father, Walter, lord Bishop of Exeter, at that time the king's chancellor, whom they had executed in Cheapside in London.

Now, prince Edward, the king's eldest son, who was now twelve years of age, had been brought over by his mother, queen Isabella, and Roger Mortimer, and now marched in pursuit of the Despensers, who were on their way westward ; and the result was that the father was besieged by the queen in the castle of Bristol, which he had been sent to defend by the king ; and being soon reduced, he was taken prisoner and sentenced to death. He was tied to horses' tails, and dragged to the gallows, where he hung for some time in iron chains. Soon afterwards the king and the younger Despenser were captured in Wales, and the latter was punished in the same way as his father. . . . But king Edward was removed to the castle of lord Maurice of Berkeley under a safe guard. Not long afterwards he abdicated and granted and allowed his son, Edward III., to be crowned king of England. Then a few days afterwards he ceased to live, and lies buried in Gloucester Abbey.

18. MISRULE OF THE QUEEN AND MORTIMER

1327. *Translated from Latin of Henry Knighton, i. 447.*
Circ. 1360.

In those days (1327) queen Isabella and Roger Mortimer, being of one accord, did greatly usurp the royal power and the treasury of the realm to their own use ; and they so undermined the king's authority that there was no one to dare to speak in the king's or the realm's behalf; for if he did so

he fell into great disgrace, and was attacked by them. To such an extent did these two assume authority that Henry, earl of Lancaster, who had been appointed and made chief guardian and adviser of the king at his coronation by the common assent of the leaders and magnates of the realm, for the better government of the king and the realm, was not able to approach him nor to give him any advice whatever. And indignant thereat, following the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury and certain bishops and some peers of the realm, he was moved to try to bring about some improvement. Moreover, discontent was rife among the people because of the peace they had made between England and Scotland, contrary to the counsel and will of the commonalty and peers of the realm; and it was desired that the king should live on his own income, and not by exactions and extortions wrung, as was customary, from the people, to its great impoverishment.

19. THE SCOTTISH ARMY ON THE MARCH

1327.

Froissart, c. 17.
1369-73.

. . . These Scottish men are right hardy, and sore travailing in harness and in wars; for when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host twenty-four mile; for they are all a-horseback, without it be the followers and lagers of the host, who follow after afoot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and

the common people and other ride on little hackneys and geldings ; for they carry with them no carts nor carriages, for the diversities of the mountains they must pass through in the country of Northumberland. They take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war that they will pass in the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river water without wine ; and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country they will pass through. Therefore, they carry with them none other purveyance but on their horse ; between the saddle and the panel they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the sodden flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire, and temper a little of the oatmeal ; and when the plate is hot they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake in manner of a cracknel or biscuit, and that they eat to comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel though they make greater journeys than other people do. And in this manner were the Scots entered into the said country, and wasted and burnt all about as they went and took great number of beasts. They were to the number of four thousand men of arms, knights, and squires, mounted on good horses ; and other ten thousand men of war were armed after their manner, right hardy and fierce, mounted on little hackneys, the which were never tied nor kept at hard meat but let go to pasture in the fields and bushes.

20. PEACE OF NORTHAMPTON

1328.

*Translated from Latin of
"Chronicle of Lanercost," 261.
Circ. 1345.*

In the same year [1328] the king of France died without heir, as had also his brother before him. Now, the king of England, hearing of the death of his uncle thus without leaving heirs, and considering that he himself was by right the next heir to the French throne, but nevertheless afraid that the French would gainsay him and choose another of the blood royal for their king—as they did forthwith, in the person of the son of Charles, the king's late uncle—acting upon the most evil advice of his mother and Sir Roger Mortimer, who had most influence with the king, now scarcely fifteen years old, he was constrained to remit to the Scots by his own public writ every exaction, right and claim of suzerainty over the realm of Scotland for himself and his heirs, his successors for ever, without their doing any homage to the kings of England. He restored to them also a piece of Christ's cross, which the Scots call Blackrod, as well as a document or charter of subjection and homage to be paid to the kings of England, to which were attached the seals of all the lords of Scotland; and they had drawn it up for the king's grandfather, and on account of the number of seals hanging from it the Scots called it "Ragman." However, the stone from Scone, on which the kings of Scotland are wont to be set at their coronation at Scone, the Londoners refused to give up on any pretext whatever. Now all these things the famous

king Edward, the son of Henry III., had had brought from Scotland, while he was reducing the Scots to his sway. Moreover, the young king gave his younger sister, Joan of the Tower, in marriage to David, son of Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who at that time was a boy of fifteen, in accordance with the arrangement of his mother, queen of England, who then ruled the entire realm. This marriage was solemnly celebrated at Berwick, on the Sunday next before the feast of S. Mary Magdalene [July 19].

21. THE DEATH OF ROBERT BRUCE

1329.

Froissart, c. 20.

1369-73.

The foresaid peace which was purchased between England and Scotland was to endure three year ; and in the meantime it fortuned that king Robert of Scotland was right sore aged and feeble : for he was greatly charged with the great sickness, so that there was no way with him but death. And when he felt that his end drew near, he sent for such barons and lords of his realm as he trusted best, and showed them how there was no remedy with him, but he must needs leave this transitory life, commanding them on the faith and truth that they owed him, truly to keep the realm and aid the young prince David, his son, and that when he were of age they should obey him and crown him king, and to marry him in such an alliance as was convenient for his estate. Then he called to him the gentle knight, Sir James Douglas, and said before all the lords, "I will that as soon as I am trespassed out of this

world, that ye take my heart out of my body and embalm it, and take of my treasure as ye shall think sufficient for that enterprise, both for yourself and such company as ye will take with you, and present my heart to the Holy Sepulchre, whereas our Lord lay, sceing my body cannot come there ; and take with you such company and purveyance as shall be appertaining to your estate. And wheresoever ye come let it be known how ye carry with you the heart of king Robert of Scotland at his instance and desire, to be presented to the Holy Sepulchre."

Then all the lords that heard these words wept for pity ; and when this knight, Sir James Douglas, might speak for weeping, he said, " Ah, gentle and noble king, a hundred times I thank your grace of the great honour that ye do to me, since of so noble and great treasure ye give me in charge ; and, sir, I shall do with a glad heart all that ye have commanded me, to the best of my true power, howbeit I am not worthy nor sufficient to achieve such a noble enterprise."

And thus soon after this noble Robert de Bruce, king of Scotland, trespassed out of this uncertain world, and his heart was taken out of his body and embalmed, and honourably he was interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline in the year of our Lord God 1329.

22. EXECUTION OF MORTIMER

1330. *Translated from Latin of Henry Knighton, i. 453.
Circ. 1360.*

[Representations had been made to Edward concerning the misgovernment of the queen and Mortimer.]

Thereupon the king held his council at Nottingham about Michaelmas, attended by almost all the magnates of the realm. And the king, following wiser counsels, was there more correctly informed of their treachery and wrong-doing ; and so on the Wednesday, on the morrow of the feast of S. Luke, he set out with a chosen escort at dead of night by a subterranean passage from the town of Nottingham to the castle, and came to his mother's room ; near her he found in another room Roger Mortimer and Henry, Bishop of Lincoln. The king immediately ordered Roger to be arrested and kept in safe keeping till the morrow. On the morrow he had all his followers arrested, who were scattered throughout the town. . . . Isabella, the king's mother, was sentenced to lose all her lands, and only with difficulty escaped sentence of death ; because she was the king's mother, and out of respect to the king this was not carried out. And it was arranged that she should draw three thousand marks every year from the king's chest for her support, and should abide in one fixed place at the king's pleasure. Then the king charged the earls, barons, and other magnates of the realm to give true judgment on Roger Mortimer. And they all took counsel together, and came forward and said that the articles of accusation brought against him as a whole and individually were true and notorious and known to all the people of the realm, especially the article referring to the king's death at Berkeley ; wherefore decision and judgment were given that the said Roger should be drawn and hanged in September at London. And his body hung bare

on the gallows for two days and nights, and was then buried in the house of the Franciscans in London.

23. THE BATTLE OF HALIDON HILL

1333.

*Translated from Latin of
"Chronicle of Lanercost," 273.
Circ. 1345.*

Moreover, on the same festival of the Annunciation [March 25] the Scots had been beaten in Northumberland, and some also near the town of Berwick. The king of England, hearing that the Scots had thus invaded his territory, and had wrought all the evil I have mentioned, though he himself had not yet broken the peace and agreement existing between himself and David, Robert Bruce's son, who had married his sister, now with him in Scotland, about the festival of SS. Philip and James [May 1], advanced towards Berwick to conquer the Scots, and to help his kinsman, the king of Scotland. And with him there were John of Eltham, his brother, and many other nobles, earls, barons, knights, esquires, and 30,000 picked men; while the king of Scotland was besieging the said town. And within the octave of the Ascension [May 20] both kings with their army make a determined assault upon the town; but the besieged—owing to the strength and height of the wall, which the king of England's father had had built while the town belonged to him—bravely resisted, and manfully defended themselves; nor could the English effect an entry, but they still continued the siege.

Now on the fourteenth day before the calends of August in the same year, that is to say on the eve of the feast of S. Margaret, virgin and martyr [July 19], after dinner the Scots came upon them in considerable numbers, to their own destruction, marching in three lines towards Berwick against the two kings and their armies then intent upon the siege; but the latter had been forewarned and forearmed in respect to their arrival. The Scottish vanguard had their faces wounded, and were blinded by the clouds of English arrows in this battle, just as in the previous fight at Glenden Moor; for they were unable to help themselves, and so they soon began to turn their faces from the shower of the arrows and to fall in their ranks. And although the English, like the Scots, were drawn up in three lines, and the king of Scotland was in the rearmost, yet the Scots so manœuvred that they met and joined issue first with his line who was fairly claiming his right to the throne. But, as was said, their first line was quickly thrown into confusion and beaten by his army before the rest began to fight. And just as the first line was thrown into confusion by him, so the two others were straightway overthrown in the battle by the rest of the English. And the Scottish rearguard turned to flight, and that too on foot; but the English pursued them on horseback, and laid them low with clubs studded with iron as they fled by different paths. Now on that day there were slain of the Scots, as was said, 7 earls, 27 knights-banneret, and 36,320 men-at-arms; according to some, however, not so many, and according to others many more. And

among them fell lord Archibald Douglas, who had chiefly brought them to such a destruction ; and unless night had quickly intervened many more would have been slain.

Before the Scotch army came to Berwick, a monk who was in their company, and had heard their counsels, cried aloud to them : " March no further, but all return, for I see the crucified Christ coming against you in the air from Berwick, with a spear poised in His hand." But they, like arrogant and perverse men, trusting in their numbers, for they were twice as many as the English, hardened their hearts and would not return. This story was told by one of those who had been newly made a knight before this battle, and had been captured therein and afterwards ransomed ; and he said, moreover, that although 203 Scots had been newly made knights before the battle, not one of them escaped death except himself and four others with him.

24. BANNOCKBURN AVENGED

Laurence Minot, "Pol. Poems," i. 61 (modernised).

1333.

Scots out of Berwick and of Aberdeen,
 At the Bannock-burn were ye too keen ;
 There slew ye many guiltless—as was seen—
 And now hath king Edward avenged it, I ween ;
 Avenged it, I ween, well worth the while ;
 War yet with the Scots, for they are full of guile.

Where are ye Scots of St. John's town ?
 The boast of your banner is beaten all down ;

When ye boasting will proffer, Sir Edward is bound
For to kindle your care and to crack your crown.

He has cracked your crown, well worth the while ;
Shame betide the Scots, for they are full of guile.

Scots of Stirling were stern and stout,
Of God and good men had they no doubt ;
Now have they the pillars pricked about—
But at the last Sir Edward rifled their rout.

He has rifled their rout, well worth the while ;
But ever are they scheming tricks and guile.

Rough-footed sandal now kindles thy care ;
“Bear-bag,” with thy boast, thy bigging is bare.
False wretch and foresworn, whither wilt thou fare ?
Hie thee fast to the brig and abide there !

There, wretch, shalt thou go and, weary the while !
Thy dwelling in Dundee is done for thy guile.

But many men threaten and speak full ill—
That sometime 'twere better to be stone still ;
The Scot in his words has wind for to spill,
For, at the last, Edward shall have all his will.

He had his will at Berwick, well worth the while ;
Scots brought him the keys, the reward of their guile.

25. EDWARD BALIOL DOES HOMAGE TO EDWARD III.

1334.

*Translated from Latin of
“Chronicle of Lanercost,” 277.
Circ. 1345.*

On the nineteenth day of June, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, there came together the king of Scotland and

the earls of Athol, Dunbar, Mar, and Buchan, and there, in the presence of the two English earls and the four Scotch and the archbishop and bishops, of whom I have already made mention, and an exceeding great number of clergy and people, Edward Baliol, king of Scotland, did homage to Edward III., king of England—to hold his realm of Scotland from him as his overlord, and from his heirs and successors for ever. And because the king of England had helped him to regain and hold his said realm, from which he had been driven out for a time by the Scots, and because he had undergone great expense, the king of Scotland delivered to him five Scottish counties in the neighbourhood of the English border; and these were the county of Berwick and Roxburgh, Peebles and Dumfries, the town of Haddington, the town of Jedburgh, with the castle thereof, and the forests of Selkirk, Ettrick, and Jedburgh; and all these were to be separated from the crown of Scotland and to be annexed to England for ever; and the result was that there remained to the king of Scotland, south of the Firth of Forth, only five counties, viz. Ayr, Dumbarton, Lanark, Stirling, and Wigton in Galloway, beyond Solway. All these conditions were publicly confirmed on oath, in writing, and with satisfactory witnesses; and after their due settlement, the king returned to England. . . . But in the meantime David, whom the Scots had crowned king before this, and who had held himself in the strong castle of Dumbarton, escaped to France and did homage to the French king, promising to hold the kingdom of Scotland from him as from his overlord on condition that he

should help him to recover his realm out of the hands of the kings of England and Scotland. And when this news was noised abroad in Scotland, the number of Scots rebelling against their king increased daily to such an extent that before the feast of St. Michael [Sept. 29] nearly the whole of Scotland was in rebellion ; and they made the king flee to Berwick, which belonged to the English.

26. A CONVOY FOR FOREIGN MERCHANTS

1338. *Translated from Latin of Rymer, "Foederis," ii. 1031.*

The king to his well-beloved and trusty servant, Walter de Manny, Admiral of the Fleet from the mouth of the river Thames northwards, greeting.

Seeing that between our agents over sea, and the noble duke of Brabant, our kinsman, and some merchants of his duchy, there has been transacted certain weighty and important business ; and among other matters an agreement has been made that the said merchants of the duchy of Brabant shall be able to betake themselves to their own parts, within a certain time, freely without let or hindrance, with their merchandise and goods, and carry with them two thousand two hundred bags of wool, which does not fall within the statute lately made concerning the taking of wool within the realm for our own use.

We order you to fit out, man, and otherwise equip as many vessels as necessary for the safe convoy of the wool, and have them brought thus fitted and equipped to the port of Ipswich without delay ; and we bid you see that the ships with the wool on

board set out for Brabant under a safe and secure escort. April 28.

27. PROTECTION FOR WEAVERS

1339. *Translated from Latin of Rymer, "Federa," ii. 1098.*

The king to the mayor and officers of his town of Bristol, greeting.

Wheras lately, with the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and others in parliament assembled, it was ordained and agreed that wool should be made into cloth within our realm, and that all those who wished to make cloth of this kind should be able to do so in certain places within our realm without let or hindrance; and that now from Thomas Blanket and certain others of your town we have heard that, though they, in accordance with our proclamation, have set up in their homes different instruments for the weaving and making of cloth, and have engaged weavers and other workmen for this purpose, you, paying no regard to these facts, demand divers sums of money from them when their instruments were finished and set up, and harass and annoy them—as they maintain—to their no small expense, and against the terms of our proclamation;

We, being assured that our proclamation, if observed, may prove of service to us and our people, and desiring that the aforesaid Thomas and others wishing to make cloth in this way, should be protected from wrong and undue impositions—

Order you to allow the said Thomas and others desiring to make cloth in this way, to have their instruments for weaving and making cloth set up in

their own homes, and keep their workmen there with no hindrance, charge, or undue imposition whatever, provided always that the customs and other charges due to us, if any, be paid to us, as is proper. Nov. 25.

28. EDWARD III. ASSUMES THE ARMS OF FRANCE

1340.

Froissart, c. 43.

1369-73.

At Brussels the king of England was sore desired of all his allies of the Empire that he should require them of Flanders to aid and to maintain his war, and to defy the French king and to go with him whereas he would have them ; and in their so doing, he to promise them to recover Lille, Douay and Bethune.

This request was well heard of the Flemings, and thereupon they desired to take counsel among themselves ; and so they took counsel at good leisure, and then they said to the king : "Sir, before this time ye have made to us request in this behalf : sir, if we might well do this, saving your honour and to save ourselves, we would gladly do this ; but, sir, we be bound by faith and oath, and on the sum of two millions of florins in the pope's chamber, that we may make



COAT OF ARMS ADOPTED BY
EDWARD III. 1339.

nor move no war against the king of France whosoever it be, on pain to lose the said sum, and beside that, to run in the sentence of cursing. But, sir, if ye will take on you the arms of France and quarter them with the arms of England and call yourself king of France, as ye ought to be of right, then we will take you for rightful king of France, and demand of you quittance of our bonds, and so ye to give us pardon thereof as king of France: by this means we shall be assured and dispensed withal, and so then we will go with you whithersoever ye will have us."

Then the king took counsel, for he thought it was a sore matter to take on him the arms of France and the name, and as then had conquered nothing thereof, nor could not tell what should fall thereof, nor whether he should conquer it or not; and on the other side, loth he was to refuse the comfort and aid of the Flemings, who might do him more aid than any other. So the king took counsel of the lords of the Empire and of the lord Robert of Artois and with other of his special friends; so that finally, the good and the evil weighed, he answered to the Flemings that if they would swear and seal to this accord, and promise to maintain his war, how he would do all this with a good will, and promised to get them again Lille, Douay, and Bethune; and all they answered how they were content.

Then there was a day assigned to meet at Ghent, at which day the king was there, and the most part of the said lords, and all the counsels generally in Flanders. And so then all these said matters were rehearsed, sworn, and sealed; and the king quartered

the arms of France with England, and from thenceforth took on him the name of the king of France, and so continued till he left it again by composition, as ye shall hear after in this book.

29. EPIGRAM ON TAKING THE FRENCH ARMS

*Translated from Latin of "Political Poems," i. 26.
1339.*

Realms have I two—but on grounds
At variance each with the other ;
England I hold from my sire,
But France do I get from my mother.
Hence the halving my scutcheon—now first begun
In this year thirteen hundred two score minus one.

30. THE BATTLE OF SLUVS

*Froissart, c. 50.
1340. 1369-73.*

Now let us speak of the king of England who was on the sea to the intent to arrive in Flanders, and so into Hainault, to make war against the Frenchmen. This was on Midsummer-even in the year of our Lord 1340; all the English fleet was departed out of the river of Thames and took the way to Sluys. And the same time between Blankenberg and Sluys on the sea was Sir Hugh Quieret, Sir Peter Behuchet, and Barbevaise, and more than six score great vessels beside other; and there were of Normans, Genoese, and Picards about the number of forty thousand; there they were laid by the

French king to defend the king of England's passage. The king of England and his men came sailing till he came before Sluys ; and when he saw so great a number of ships that their masts seemed to be like a great wood, he demanded of the master of his ship what people he thought they were. He answered and said, " Sir, I think they be Normans laid here by the French king, who have done great displeasure in England, and burned your town of Southampton and taken your great ship the *Christopher*." " Ah," quoth the king, " I have long desired to fight with the Frenchmen, and now shall I fight with some of them by the grace of God and St. George." Then the king set all his ships in order, the greatest before, well furnished with archers, and ever between two ships of archers he had one ship with men of arms ; and then he made another battle to lie aloof, with archers, to comfort ever them that were most weary, if need were. And there were a great number of countesses, ladies, knights' wives, and other damosels, that were going to see the queen at Ghent ; these ladies the king caused to be well kept with three hundred men of arms and five hundred archers.

When the king and his marshals had ordered his battles he drew up the sails and came with a quarter wind to have the vantage of the sun, and so at last they turned a little to get the wind at will. And when the Normans saw them retire, they had marvel why they did so, and some said, " They think themselves not meet to meddle with us, wherefore they will go back." They saw well how the king of England was there personally by reason of his banners. Then did they apparel their fleet in order,

for they were sage and good men of war on the sea, and did set the *Christopher*, the which they had won the year before, to be foremost, with many trumpets and instruments, and so set on their enemies.

There began a sore battle on both parts: archers and crossbows began to shoot, and men of arms approached and fought hand to hand; and the better to come together they had great hooks and grappers of iron, to cast out of one ship into another, and so tied them fast together. There were many deeds of arms done, taking and rescuing again, and at last the great *Christopher* was first won by the Englishmen, and all that were within it taken or slain. Then there was great noise and cry, and the Englishmen approached and fortified the *Christopher* with archers, and made him to pass on before to fight with the Genoesc. This battle was right fierce and terrible; for the battles on the sea are more dangerous and fiercer than the battles by land. . . . This battle endured from the morning till it was noon, and the Englishmen endured much pain, for their enemies were four against one, and all good men on the sea. . . . But they bore themselves so valiantly that they obtained the victory; so that the Frenchmen, Normans, and other were discomfited, slain, and drowned; there was not one that escaped, but all were slain.

31. SLUVS

Laurence Minot, "Pol. Poems," i. 70 (modernised).
1340.

King Edward unto sail was full soon dight
With earls and barons and many a knight;

They came before Blankburgh on St. John's night.
 That was to the Normans a full sorry sight ;
 Yet trumped they and danced with torches full bright,
 In the wild wan moon were their hearts all light.

Two hundred and more ships in the sands
 Had our Englishmen won well with their hands ;
 The cock-boats of England were brought out of bands,
 And also the *Christopher* in the stream stands.
 In that moment they stood with streamers full still
 Till they wist full well Sir Edward's will.

This was the battle that fell in the Swin,
 Where many Normans made mickle din.
 Well were they armed up to the chin ;
 But God and Sir Edward made their boast blin (ccase).
 Thus ceased their boast as we well ken ;
 God assoil their souls ! said all. Amen.

32. LETTER FROM EDWARD III. TO THE KING OF FRANCE

1340.

*Trans. by Sir E. M. Thompson from Latin
 of Adam Murimuth, 111.
 Before 1347.*

Philip of Valois, for long have we made suit
 before you by embassies and all other ways which
 we knew to be reasonable, to the end that you should
 be willing to have restored unto us our right, our
 heritage of France, which you have long kept back
 and most wrongfully occupied. And for that we
 see well that you are minded to continue in your
 wrongful withholding, without doing us right in our
 demand, we have entered into the land of Flanders
 as sovereign lord thereof, and have passed through

the country. And we make known unto you that, by the help of our Lord Jesus Christ and our right, together with the power of the said land and with our people and allies, in regard to the right which we have in the heritage which you do wrongfully withhold from us, we are drawing nigh unto you to make an end of our rightful challenge, if you will come near. And for that so great a power of assembled men which come on our side, and which we think you are leading on your side, would never long be able to hold together without doing grievous hurt to the people and to the country—which thing every good Christian ought to eschew, and especially princes and others who think themselves worthy to rule nations—so do we greatly desire that despatch be made, and, for the avoiding the death of Christians, seeing that the quarrel is manifestly ours and yours, that the trial of our challenge be made between our two bodies; whereunto we offer ourself for the reason aforesaid, albeit that we consider well the great nobility of your person, your prudence also, and discretion. And in case that you would not choose this way, then should our challenge be made to make an end thereof by battle between yourself with one hundred of the fittest men of your side and ourself with so many others of our liegemen. And if you will neither the one nor the other way, that you assign unto us a certain day before the city of Tournay to fight, power against power, within ten days next after the date of this letter. . . .

Given under our great seal at Chin, in the fields near Tournay, the 27th day of the month of July, the year of our Lord 1340.

33. THE FRENCH KING'S REPLY

1340.

*Trans. by Sir E. M. Thompson from Latin
of Adam Murimuth, 114.
Before 1347.*

Philip, by the grace of God king of France, to Edward, king of England. We have seen your letters which were brought unto our court, sent from you to Philip of Valois, wherein are contained certain demands which you make of the said Philip of Valois. And for that the said letters came not unto us, and that the said demands were not made of us, as clearly appeareth by the tenour of the letters, we make unto you no answer. Nevertheless, inasmuch as we have heard, by means of the said letters and otherwise, that you have entered into our realm of France, bringing great harm to us and to our realm and to our people, led on by wilfulness and without reason and without regard to the faith that a liege man oweth to his lord—for you did enter into our liege homage, recognising us, as is right, to be king of France, and did promise obedience such as one is bound to promise to his liege lord, as more clearly appeareth by your letters patent, sealed with your great seal, the which we have in our hands, and which you ought equally to have with you—therefore our intent is, when unto us it shall seem good, to cast you forth from our realm, to the honour of us and of our realm and to the profit of our people; and to do this we have steadfast hope in Jesus Christ, from whom all power cometh unto us. For by your undertaking, which is of wilfulness and not reasonable, hath been hindered the holy passage beyond sea, and great numbers of Christian

people have been slain, the service of God minished, and holy Church had in less reverence. And as to what you have written that you think to have the help of the Flemings, we take it for certain that the good people and commons of the land will bear themselves in such manner towards our cousin, the Count of Flanders, their immediate lord, and us, their sovereign lord, that they will keep their honour and their loyalty. And that they have hitherto erred hath been from evil counsel of people who regarded not the common weal nor the honour of the country, but their own profit only. Given in the fields near the priory of St. Andrew, under our privy seal in default of our great seal, the 30th day of July, the year of grace 1340.

34. REMOVAL OF MINISTERS AND APPOINTMENT OF A LAY CHANCELLOR

1340. *Translated from Latin of Robert of Archesbury, 323.
Before 1356.*

Then king Edward III. made a truce before Tournay and returned to Flanders. Soon afterwards, one night before daybreak, he came suddenly in a boat with his clerks to the Tower of London, without the knowledge of a single man in England. Now he was greatly moved against his chief ministers, because in consequence of their remissness he had experienced want of supplies in the siege of Tournay and had been obliged to consent to a truce; so he immediately had arrested and brought to the tower John Stonor, chief justice of the Common Pleas, John Pultney, and several others. And when morning

came he sent for Robert, bishop of Chichester, his chancellor, and for all his chief ministers, and, with the single exception of the bishop, he had them imprisoned in the tower ; but him he allowed to go free, from fear of Clement's ruling that "bishops are not to be arrested and imprisoned" ; and he appointed chancellor, in place of the bishop, Sir Robert Bourchier.

35. LETTER FROM THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND TO THE POPE

1343.

*Trans. by Sir E. M. Thompson from Latin
of Adam Murimuth, 140.
Before 1347.*

To the most holy father in God, our Lord Clement, by divine providence sovereign bishop of the holy Church of Rome and of the Church universal, his humble and devoted sons, the princes, dukes, earls, barons, knights, citizens, burgesses, and all the commons of the kingdom of England, assembled in the parliament holden at Westminster about Easter-tide last past, devoutly kissing his feet with all reverence and humility. Inasmuch, most holy father, as you cannot have notice of the faults and shortcomings of persons and places so far removed, if you be not informed thereof, we do make known to your Holiness that by means of divers reservations, provisions, and collations granted by your predecessors and by you, most holy father, in your time, more largely than they were wont to be, to divers persons, as well to foreign and divers nations, and to some our enemies, not having know-

ledge of the tongue nor the condition of those whose government and cure should belong to them, as to others who are not fit, there come to pass dangers and mischiefs, which are these:—The souls of parishioners are imperilled, the service of God is destroyed, alms are withdrawn, hospitalities impoverished, churches and buildings thereto belonging fallen into decay, charity stinted, cure of souls and the government which belongeth thereto brought to naught, devotion of the people checked, honest persons of the realm unadvanced as well as many scholars, the treasure of the realm carried away, and strangers banished, contrary to the intent and pious will of founders. Which faults, shortcomings, dangers, and scandals, most holy father, we cannot nor ought to suffer or endure. Therefore we humbly beg of your Holiness that the faults, shortcomings, and divers perils which may thence come to pass being discreetly considered, it may please you both to recall such reservations, provisions, and collations, and to ordain that they be not henceforth made, and to apply fitting remedy for the evils which may thence arise, follow, and ensue; and that the benefices, buildings, and rights thereto belonging may, to the honour of God, by persons of the said realm, be had in charge, defended, and governed. And may it please your Holiness to signify unto us by your holy letters your intention upon this our petition without captious delay, understanding for certain that we shall not fail to apply our care and travail to get remedy and fitting correction in the matters aforesaid. Given in full parliament at Westminster, on the 18th day of May, the year of grace 1343.

36. A REVIEW OF PAPAL EXACTI0NS

1345. *Translated from Latin of Adam Murimuth, 173.
Before 1347.*

From the foregoing chronicles, and from those of the supreme Pontiffs, we may clearly see the care and ingenuity exercised by the holy see to wring money and wealth from all nations, and especially the English, particularly by means of promotions, during the papacy of Clement V. For he reserved to his use for a period of three years the incomes of vacant livings. Moreover, he granted different kings several tithes, a moiety being reserved for the holy see. . . . And by this trafficking of Clement's many nations, especially the wretched over-eager English, were reduced to poverty and cheated of their hopes. . . . And after his death pope John XXII. applied himself still more keenly in extorting money. For on his elevation he reserved to his use the firstfruits of such livings as should fall vacant within a period of three years, and in order that as large a number as possible should quickly fall vacant, he alleged that Clement's permissions to hold several livings conjointly had been granted without due care, and therefore recalled them, ordering all in this position to keep one living and resign the rest absolutely; and livings thus resigned he reserved for the use of the holy see, as is to be found in the decretal named "Execrabilis." . . . Moreover, seeing that some English clergy had good livings and fat prebends, he reserved them all, even in their lifetime, giving

the fat livings to cardinals and foreigners, the poor to Englishmen. . . . And from all this it may be gathered how the apostolic see strives to apply the wealth of England to its own use, not only by itself, but also by others, courtiers and cardinals, in whose hands are more good livings than it would be easy to count ; so much so that in all probability the wealth that finds its way out of England to the apostolic see and to foreigners is greater than the ordinary annual exchequer of the king of England. And from this wealth are supported, we presume, most of the enemies of the king of England. Wherefore that text from the Epistle to the Corinthians may be applied in irony to the king and the realm of England : "Ye suffer *wise men* gladly, seeing ye yourselves are *fools* ; for ye suffer if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man take of you, if a man smite you on the face." Wherefore among the courtiers of the apostolic see it is become a proverb that the English are "good asses," ready to bear all the burdens put upon them. And no remedy can be found against this on the part of prelates and bishops, because, seeing that they themselves, as indeed all others, are advanced by the papal see, they do not dare to utter a word at which that see might take offence. Besides, if the king and nobles have provided and decided upon a remedy, yet they themselves, by the letters and petitions they make for unworthy friends, bring about the contrary effect.

37. THE SUMMONER

Chaucer, Prol. "Canterbury Tales,"
1386-88 (modernised)

[The duty of a summoner was to call offenders into the church courts.]

He was a gentle rascal and a kind ;
A better fellow should men never find. . . .
And if he found at all a good fellow,
He would teach him to have no awe,
In such a case, of the archdeacon's curse,
Unless a man's soul were in his purse ;
For in his purse he needs must punished be.
"Purse is the archdeacon's hell," said he. . .
A garland had he set upon his head,
As great as it were an ale-house sign ;
A buckler had he made him of a cake.

38. THE MARCH FROM POISSY TO CRECY

1346.

*Trans. by Sir E. M. Thompson from Latin
of Robert of Avesbury, 369.
Before 1356.*

[The following extract is a letter written by one Michael Northburgh, who took part in the facts described.]

Greeting. Please you to know that our lord the king came to the town of Poissy on the eve of the Assumption of our Lady, and there was a bridge over the river Seine, which was broken. But the king tarried there until the bridge was made again. And in the re-making of the bridge there came men of arms in great numbers with the commons of the country and of Amiens, well armed. And the

Earl of Northampton and his men went out against them, so that there were slain more than 500 of our enemies, thanks be to God, and the others were horsemen. And other times our people passed the water and slew great numbers of the commons of France, and of the city of Paris and others of the country, well armed, of the host of the King of France ; so that our people have made other bridges and good ones, thanks be to God, against our enemies, without loss or great injury of our men. And on the morrow of the Assumption of our Lady, our lord the king passed over the river Seine and marched towards Poix, which is a strong town and fenced with walls, and a castle very strong is therein ; and it was held by the enemy. And when the vanguard and the main guard were passed by the town, the rear-guard assailed the town and took it ; and there were slain there more than 300 men of arms of our enemies. . . . And then the king drew towards Grandvilliers, and, when they were quartered there, the vanguard was cried out against by the men of arms of the household of the King of Bohemia. . . . And then the King of England, whom God save, drew towards Ponthieu on the day of S. Bartholomew, and came to the water of the Somme, which cometh to the sea from Abbeville in Ponthieu. And the King of France had appointed 500 men of arms and 3000 of the commons armed, to hold the passage ; and, thanks be to God, the King of England and his host took that water of the Somme, where never man passed before, without loss, and fought their enemies, and slew more than 2000 armed men, and chased the

rest right up to the gate of Abbeville, and took of knights and squires in great number. . . . And that night the King of England encamped in the forest of Crecy, upon the same water, for that the host of France came on the other side of the town after our passage.

39. THE BATTLE OF CRECY

1346.

Froissart, cc. 128-130.

1369-73.

Then the king of England caused a park to be made by the wood side behind his host, and there were set all carts and carriages, and within the park were all their horses, for every man was afoot; and into this park there was but one entry. Then he ordained three battles; in the first was the young prince of Wales, with him the earls of Warwick and Oxford, the lord Godfrey of Harcourt, Sir Raynold Cobham, Sir Thomas Holland, the lord Stafford, the lord of Mohun, the lord Delaware, Sir John Chandos, Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, Sir Robert Nevill, the lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Bourchier, the lord de Latimer, and divers other knights and squires that I cannot name; they were an 800 men of arms and 2000 archers, and 1000 of other with the Welshmen. Every lord drew to the field appointed under his own banner and pennon. In the second battle was the lord of Northampton, the earl of Arundel, the lord Ros, the lord Lucy, the lord Willoughby, the lord Basset, the lord of S. Aubin, Sir Louis

Tufton, the lord of Multon, the lord Lascelles, and divers other, about an 800 men and 1200 archers. The third battle had the king ; he had 700 men of arms and 2000 archers. Then the king leapt on a palfrey with a white rod in his hand, one of his marshals on the one hand, and the other on the other hand. He rode from rank to rank desiring every man to take heed that day to his right and honour. He spake it so sweetly, and with so good countenance and merry cheer that all such as were discomfited took courage in the seeing and hearing of him. And when he had thus visited all his battles, it was then nine of the day ; then he caused every man to eat and drink a little, and so they did at their leisure. And afterward they ordered again their battles ; then every man lay down on the earth, and by him his helm and bow, to be the more fresher when their enemies should come.

[The French king decided to postpone an engagement till the morrow ; but his plans were upset by his own army, for . . .]

. . . They that were foremost tarried, but they that were behind would not tarry, but rode forth, and said how they would in no wise abide till they were as far forward as the foremost ; and when they before saw them come on behind, then they rode forward again, so that the king nor his marshals could not rule them. So they rode without order or good array, till they came in sight of their enemies. . . . There is no man, though he were present at the journey, that could imagine or show the truth of the evil order that was among the

French party; and yet they were a marvellous great number.

The Englishmen who were in three battles lying on the ground to rest them, as soon as they saw the Frenchmen approach, rose upon their feet fair and easily without any haste and arranged their battles. The first, which was the prince's battle,

stood with the archers in form of a harrow, and the men of arms in the bottom of the battle. The earl of Northampton and the earl of Arundel with the second battle were on a wing in good order, ready to comfort the prince's battle, if need were.

The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some came after in such haste and evil order, that one of them did trouble another.

When the French king saw the Englishmen, his blood changed, and he said to his marshals, "Make the Genoese go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and St. Denis." There were of



CROSS-BOWMAN.

the Genoese cross-bowmen about 15,000 ; but they were so weary of going afoot that day six leagues armed with their cross-bows, that they said to their constables, " We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the case to do any great deed of arms: we have more need of rest." These words came to the earl of Alençon, who said, " A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need." Also the same season there fell a great rain and lightning, with terrible thunder ; and before the rain there came flying over both battles a great number of crows for fear of the tempest coming. Then anon the air began to wax clear, and the sun to shine fair and bright, the which was right in the Frenchmen's eyes, and at the Englishmen's backs. When the Genoese were assembled together and began to approach, they made a great leap and cry to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that ; then the Genoese again the second time made another leap and a fell cry, and stepped forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot ; thirdly, again they leapt and cried, and went forth till they came within shot then they shot fiercely with their cross-bows. Then the English archers stepped forth one pace, and let fly their arrows in such unison and so thick, that it seemed snow. When the Genoese felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms, and breasts, many of them cast down their cross-bows, and did cut their strings and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them fly away, he said, " Slay these rascals, for they shall hamper and trouble us without

reason." Then ye should have seen the men of arms dash in among them, and kill a great number of them ; and ever still the Englishmen shot where they saw thickest press ; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms, and into their horses, and many fell, horse and men, among the Genoese ; and when they were down they could not rise again, for the press was so thick that one overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights, and squires ; whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.

The valiant king of Bohemia, called Charles of Luxembourg, son to the noble emperor Henry of Luxembourg, for all that he was nigh blind, when he understood the order of the battle, he said to them about him, "Where is the lord Charles, my son ?" His men said, "Sir, we cannot tell ; we think he be fighting." Then he said, "Sirs, ye are my men, my companions and friends in this journey ; I require you bring me so far forward that I may strike one stroke with my sword." They said they would do his commandment, and to the intent that they should not lose him in the press, they tied all their reins of their bridles each to other and set the king before to accomplish his desire, and so they went on their enemies. . . . And they adventured themselves so forward that they were there all slain ; and the next day they were found in the place about the king, and all their horses tied each to other. . . .

And certain Frenchmen and Germans perforce opened up the archers of the prince's battle and came and fought with the men of arms hand to hand. Then the second battle of the Englishmen came to succour the prince's battle; and it was time, for they had then much ado; and they with the prince sent a messenger to the king: "Sir, the earl of Warwick and the earl of Oxford, Sir Raynold Cobham and other, such as be about the prince, your son, are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled; wherefore they desire you that you and your battle will come and aid them; for if the Frenchmen increase, as they doubt they will, your son and they shall have much ado." Then the king said, "Is my son dead, or hurt, or on the earth felled?" "No, sir," quoth the knight, "but he is hardly matched; wherefore he hath need of your aid." "Well," said the king, "return to him and to them that sent you hither, and say to them that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive; and also say to them that they suffer him this day to win his spurs; for if God be pleased I will this journey be his and the honour thereof, and to them that be about him." Then the knight returned again to them and showed the king's words, the which greatly encouraged them and regretted in that they had sent to the king as they did. . . .

This Saturday the Englishmen never departed from their battles for chasing of any man, but kept still their field, and ever defended themselves against all such as came to assail them. This battle ended about evensong time.

40. CRECY.

Francis T. Palgrave, "The Visions of England."
1881.

At Crecy by Somme in Ponthieu,

High up on a windy hill,

A mill stands out like a tower :

King Edward stands on the mill.

The plain is seething below,

As Vesuvius seethes with flame,

But O ! not with fire, but gore,

Earth incarnadined o'er,

Crimson with shame and with fame.

To the king run the messengers, crying,

" Thy son is hard press'd to the dying ! "

" Let alone : for to-day will be written in story

To the great world's end, and for ever !

So let the boy have the glory."

Erin and Gwalia there,

With England are rank'd against France ;
Out-facing the oriflamme red

The red dragons of Merlin advance ;

As a harvest in autumn renew'd

The lances bend o'er the fields ;

Snow thick our arrow-heads white

Level the foe as they light ;

Knighthood to yeomanry yields ;

Proud heart, the king watches, as higher

Goes the blaze of the battle, and nigher :

" To-day is a day will be written in story

To the great world's end, and for ever !

Let the boy alone have the glory."

Harold at Senlac-on-Sea

By Norman arrow laid low,
When the shield-wall was breach'd by the shaft,
Thou art avenged by the bow !
Chivalry ! name of romance !

Thou art henceforth but a name ;
Weapon that none can withstand,
Yew in the Englishman's hand,
Flight-shaft unerring in aim !
As a lightning-struck forest the foemen
Shiver down to the stroke of the bowmen .

“ O to-day is a day will be written in story
To the great world's end and for ever !
So let the boy have the glory.”

Pride of Liguria's shore,

Genoa wrestles in vain ;
Vainly Bohemia's king

King-like is laid with the slain.

The Blood-lake is wiped out in blood,

The shame of the centuries o'er ;
Where the pride of the Norman had sway
The lions lord over the fray,

The legions of France are no more ;
The Prince to his father kneels lowly :
“ His is the battle—his wholly !

For to-day is a day will be written in story
To the great world's end, and for ever !
So let him have the spurs and the glory.”

41. THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS

1346. *Translated from Latin of "Chronicle of Lanercost," 348. 1346.*

Now early in the morning of the eve of S. Luke [Oct. 17] William Douglas with five hundred men went forth from the Scottish host to ravage and plunder. So the Scots plundered in the morning, but in the evening the English divided the spoil. For while the Scots were laying waste the town of Merrington, a storm suddenly got up and the sky was overcast. Moreover, as they heard the neighing of horses and the shock of armed men meeting, such a panic fell upon them that William and his men knew not where to turn. And so, by the will of God, in the panic of the moment, they stumbled upon the army of the archbishop of York and lord Thomas Rokeby. And very many of them were slain, but William and two hundred men with him, riding well-tried horses, escaped for that time—but not scatheless. . . . At this time to the Scottish host came William in hot haste, and he cried vehemently in feverish excitement, "David, haste, arise! lo! all the host of the English is upon us." But David said that this could not be. "In England," said he, "there are none save wretched monks, rascally priests, swineherds, tailors, and cobblers; they dare not look at me; I need have no fear." But they did look at him and, as appeared afterwards, drubbed him soundly. "Nay then," quoth William, "saving your highness' grace, ye shall find otherwise; there are divers strong men who are coming quickly against us and mean to fight." Now just before these words two Black Monks had come from Durham to treat with David for a truce. "Ah," says David,

“those false monks and their treacherous conferences with me! It was for this that they held me in converse, that the English army might overwhelm us on the sudden while thus outwitted.” So he gave orders that they should be taken and straightway beheaded; but all the Scots were at that time so busy that the monks got away unnoticed, gladly and unscathed, and returned to their own people unharmed. . . . Then David set earl Patrick in the front rank; but he, as though he were no real soldier, declined the command—more from cowardice than public spirit. And his post was straightway given to the earl of Moray; and so in the front rank he held the chief command, and fell afterwards in the fight. . . . The second division was led by king David in person—not that David of whom it was sung that he put to flight his tens of thousands in war, but that other who defiled the holy altar. . . . About the third hour, not far from Durham, the English army came upon the Scots; and in the first line was the earl of Angus, an Englishman of right noble birth, of great courage and wondrous kindness, in field and council ever ready to fight for his country, whose noble deeds could scarce be told by many tongues. Lord Henry Percy, like a second Judas Maccabæus, Matthias' son, a doughty warrior of small stature but wise forethought to match the foe, set himself in the front line and cheered the whole camp to dash into battle. Lord Ralph Neville, a valiant man of his word, courageous, prudent, and respected, so bore himself in the battle that, as afterwards appeared, the marks of his blows remained with the foe. Not last was lord Henry Scrope, who was the first to post himself in the van of the fight, beating

down the foe. The second division was commanded by the archbishop of York. There was also another bishop of the order of the Minorites, and for his blessing he bade the English acquit them like men ; and he forbade them, under the direst penalties, to spare the Scots ; and when he met the Scots he would have none of penance or reproof, but with a staff he gave them their days' indulgence and a heavy penance and a right good shrift; such power had he then that, all unconfessed as they were, he quitted the Scots of their every deed with that staff of his. In the third line was lord John Mowbray, so aptly named. John Copeland dealt such blows that those who got the weight of his buffets had no great stomach for the fight thereafter. Then to the blare of trumpets, the clashing of shields, the whizzing of arrows, the crashing of spears, the cries of the wounded, the shouts of the squadrons, the shattering of armour, the breaking of heads, and, alas ! the overthrow of many on the field, the battle ceased towards even-tide. The Scots fled, and we slew them ; wherefore all glory and honour to the Highest ! On that day victory fell to the English. But David, the so-called king of Scotland, together with the earls of Fife, Menteith, and Wigton and lord William Douglas, was captured, and not long afterwards was sent to London with many captured nobles, and shut up in prison.

42. NEVILLE'S CROSS

Laurence Minot, "Pol. Poems," i. 83 (modernised).

1346.

Sir David the Bruce

Was at distance

When Edward the Baliol
 Rode with his lance ;
 The north end of England
 Taught him to dance,
 When he was met on the moor
 With muckle mischance.
 Sir Philip the Valois
 May him nought advance.
 The flowers that were fair
 Are fallen in France
 Sir Philip the Valois,
 Sooth for to say,
 Sent unto Sir David
 And fair 'gan him pray,
 To ride through all England
 Their foemen to flay ;
 And said, none is at home
 To let him the way.
 None lets him the way
 To wend where he will,
 But with shepherds' staves
 Found he his fill.
 When Sir David the Bruce
 Sat on his steed,
 He said of all England
 Had he no dread.
 But soon was Sir David
 Brought into the Tower ;
 And William the Douglas
 With men of honour.
 Then Sir David the Bruce
 Maketh his moan,

The fair crown of Scotland
 Hath he foregone.
 He looked forth unto France ;
 Help had he none
 Of Sir Philip the Valois,
 Nor yet of Sir John.
 The Scots with their falsehood
 Thus went they about
 For to win England
 While Edward was out.
 Therefore at Neville's Cross
 Low 'gan they lout.

43. THE SIEGE OF CALAIS

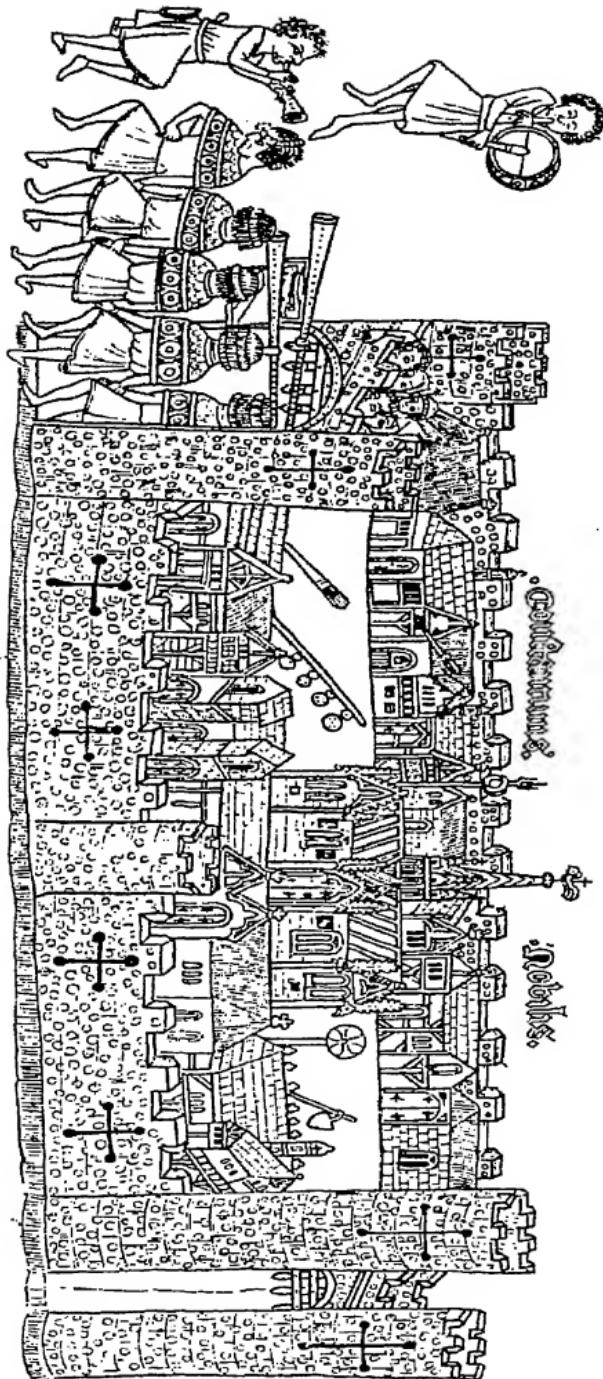
1347.

Froissart, c. 146.
 1369-73.

Then they within Calais saw well how their succour failed them, for the which they were in great sorrow. Then they desired so much their captain, Sir John of Vienne, that he went to the walls of the town and made a sign to speak with some person of the host. When the king heard thereof, he sent thither Sir Walter of Manny and Sir Basset. Then Sir John of Vienne said to them, "Sirs, ye be right valiant knights in deeds of arms, and ye know well how the king, my master, hath sent me and other to this town, and commanded us to keep it to his behoof. Now our succours have failed us, and we be so sore strained that we have not to live withal, but we must all die or else go mad for famine, without the noble and gentle king of yours will take mercy on us. And to do this we require

you to desire him, to have pity on us and to let us go and depart as we be, and let him take the town and castle and all the goods that be therein, the which is great abundance." Then Sir Walter Manny said: "Sir, we know somewhat of the intention of the king our master, for it is his will that ye should all put yourselves into his pure will, to ransom all such as pleaseth him, and to put to death such as he list. For they of Calais have done him such contraries and despites, and caused him to lose so many of his men, that he is sore grieved against them." Then the captain said: "Sir, this is too hard a matter to us. We are here within, a small sort of knights and squires, who have truly served the king our master as ye serve yours in like case. Therefore, sir, we pray you of your humility that yet ye will go and speak to the king of England, and desire him to have pity of us; for we trust in him so much gentleness, that by the grace of God his purpose shall change."

Sir Walter of Manny and Sir Basset returned to the king and declared to him all that had been said. The king said he would none otherwise but that they should yield them up simply to his pleasure. Then Sir Walter said: "Sir, saving your displeasure, in this ye may be in the wrong, for ye shall give by this an evil example; if ye send any of us your servants into any fortress, we will not be very glad to go if ye put any of them in the town to death after they be yielded; for in like wise they will deal with us if the case fell like." The which words divers other lords that were there present sustained and maintained. Then the king said: "Sirs, I will



A WALLED TOWN, *cirr.* 1340.
An imaginary Picture of Constantinople—*Luttrell Psalter.*

not be alone against you all; therefore Sir Walter Manny ye shall go and say to the captain that all the grace he shail find now in me is that they let six of the chief burgesses of the town come out bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-legged, and in their shirts, with halters about their necks, with the keys of the town and castle in their hands, and let them six yield themselves purely to my will and the residue I will take to mercy."

Then Sir Walter returned and found Sir John of Vienne still on the wall, abiding for an answer. Then Sir Walter showed him all the grace he could get of the king. . . . Then all the people began to weep and to make such sorrow, that there was not so hard a heart, if they had seen them, but that would have had great pity of them; the captain himself wept piteously. At last the most rich burgess of all the town, called Eustace of Saint-Pierre, rose up and said openly: "Sirs, great and small, great mischief it should be to suffer to die such people as be in this town, either by famine or otherwise, when there is a mean to save them. I think he or they should have great merit of our Lord God that might keep them from such mischief. As for my part, I have so good trust in our Lord God, that, if I die in the quarrel to save the residue, God would pardon me; wherefore to save them I will be the first to put my life in jeopardy." When he had thus said, every man worshipped him and divers kneeled down at his feet with sore weeping and sore sighs. Then another honest burgess rose and said: "I will keep company with my gossip Eustace." He was called John d'Aire. Then rose up Jacques of

Wyssant, who was rich in goods and heritage ; he said also that he would hold company with his two cousins. In like wise so did Peter of Wyssant his brother ; and then rose two other ; they said they would do the same. Then they went and apparellled them as the king desired.

Then all the earls and barons and other that were there wept for pity. The king looked fiercely on them, for greatly he hated the people of Calais for the great damages and displeasures they had done him on the sea before. Then he commanded their heads to be stricken off ; then every man required the king for mercy ; but he would hear no man in that behalf. Then Sir Walter of Manny said : " Ah, noble king, for God's sake do not a thing that should blemish your renown, nor give cause to some to speak of you villainy. Every man will say it is a great cruelty to put to death such honest persons, who by their own wills put themselves into your grace to save their company." Then the king commanded to send for the hangman and said : " They of Calais have caused many of my men to be slain, wherefore these shall die in like wise."

Then the queen kneeled down and sore weeping said : " Ah, gentle sir, since I passed the sea in great peril, I have desired nothing of you ; therefore now I humbly require you in honour of the Son of the Virgin Mary and for the love of me that ye will take mercy of these six burgesses." The king beheld the queen and stood still in a study a space, and then said : " Ah, dame, I would ye had been now in some other place ; ye make such request to me that I cannot deny you. Wherefore I give them

to you to do your pleasure with them." Then the queen caused them to be brought into her chamber, and made the halters to be taken from their necks, and caused them to be new clothed, and gave them their dinner at their leisure ; and then she gave each of them six nobles, and made them to be brought out of the host in safeguard and set at their liberty.

44. THE BLACK DEATH

1348-49. *Translated from Latin of Henry Knighton, ii. 62.
Circ. 1360.*

The plague, which first began in the country inhabited by the Saracens, spread to such an extent that, without sparing any realm, it visited with the scourge of sudden death every spot in all the kingdoms that stretch from that country northwards, even as far as Scotland. Now in England it started in the county of Dorsetshire, about the festival of S. Peter in Chains [Aug. 1] in the year of our Lord 1348 ; and immediately spreading from place to place with great rapidity it smote between morning and noon a very great number of people in perfect health, and rid them of this mortal life. None of those whom it willed to die, did it suffer to live more than three or four days at the most, without any regarding of persons, with the exception perhaps of a few rich. On the same day, twenty, forty, sixty, yea and exceeding many more bodies in the same grave received the rites of burial. And about the festival of All Saints [Nov. 1] the plague came to London and killed off many people every day ; and it spread so, that from the feast of the Purification till after Easter more than two

hundred bodies were buried daily in the new cemetary that had just been made near Smithfield—not to mention those buried in the other cemeteries of the city. But by the grace of the Holy Spirit it departed from London at Whitsuntide, and went on its way northwards; and it departed thence about the festival of S. Michael in the year of our Lord 1349.

45. PRECAUTIONS TO DETAIN PLAGUE FUGITIVES

1349. *Translated from Latin of Rymer, "Fœderæ," iii. 191.*

The King to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the town of Sandwich, greeting.

Whereas no small portion of the people of our realm of England hath died during the present plague, and our Treasury hath been greatly exhausted and we are given to understand that many of our people are daily betaking, and intending to betake, themselves to foreign parts, with money which they may have in our realm :

We being advised that, if this exodus be suffered, our realm will soon be as void of men as of treasure, and thus from this there might arise great danger to us and our realm, unless some suitable remedy be quickly found therefor ;

And wishing, in view of the dangers which daily threaten those who thus depart over sea, especially the English, to provide for the safety of our realm and people :

We hereby charge you, under the strictest injunctions, on no account to allow to pass over sea, from your port, either openly or secretly, except with our special orders, any men at arms, even foreigners, or

any others of our realm, or from any where else, of what rank or condition soever, unless they be merchants, notaries, or accredited ambassadors ; and we bid you show such care in this matter that, by your evil conduct, you be not deserving of punishment at our hands hereafter.

WESTMINSTER, *December 1.*

46. AN ORDINANCE CONCERNING LABOUR

1349.

Statutes, i. 307.

. . . Because a great part of the people and especially of workmen and servants late died of the Pestilence, many, seeing the necessity of masters and great scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they may receive excessive wages, and some rather willing to beg in idleness than by labour to get their living : We, considering the grievous discommodity which of the lack of ploughmen and such labourers may hereafter come, have upon deliberation and treaty with the prelates and the nobles, and learned men assisting us, of their mutual counsel ordained :

[The chief provisions of the ordinance are as follows :

1. Every able-bodied person under sixty shall be bound to serve if required on penalty of imprisonment.
2. If a workman depart from service before the time agreed upon, he shall be imprisoned.
3. The old wages and no more shall be given to servants.
4. An employer breaking the statute shall be fined treble.
5. Workmen taking more wages than were customary before the plague shall be imprisoned.
6. Victuals shall be sold at reasonable rates.
7. No person shall give anything to a beggar that is able to labour.]

47. THE STEWARD OF THE LORD OF THE MANOR

Chaucer, Prol. "Canterbury Tales" (Globe Edition).
1386-88.

The reve was a sclendre colerik man,
His berd was shave as ny as ever he kan ;
His heer was by his erys round y-shorn,
His tope was doked lyk a preest biforn,
Ful longe were his legges and ful lene,
Y-lyk a staf, ther was no calf y-sene.
Wel koude he kepe a gerner and a bynne,
Ther was noon auditour koude on him wynne.
Wel wiste he, by the droghte and by the reyn,
The yeldynge of his seed and of his greyn.
His lordes sheepe, his neet, his dayerye,
His swyn, his hors, his stoor, and his pultrye,
Was hoolly in this reves governyng,
And by his covenant yaf he the rekenyng
Syn that his lord was twenty yeer of age ;
Ther koude no man brynge hym in arrage.
There nas baillif, ne hierde, nor oother hyne,
That he ne knew their sleighe and his covyne ;
They were adrad of hym as of the deeth.

48. THE WORKING OF THE LABOUR ORDIN-
ANCE—NOW MADE A STATUTE

1350-51.

Statutes, i. 311.

Whereas lately against the malice of servants, which were idle, and not willing to serve after the Pestilence, without taking excessive wages, it was ordained that such manner of servants, as well men

as women, should be bound to serve, receiving salary and wages accustomed in the places where they



COSTUMES OF ENGLISH SERVING-MEN, 14TH CENTURY.

ought to serve, as in the twentieth year of the king that now is; and that the same servants refusing to serve in such manner should be punished by im-

prisonment of their bodies: and now, forasmuch as the king is given to understand in this present Parliament, by the petition of the Commonalty, that the said servants, having no regard to the said ordinance, but to their ease and singular covetousness, do refuse to serve great men and other, unless they have livery and wages to the double and treble of that they were wont to take, to the great damage of the great men and impoverishing of all the said Commonalty: wherfore in the same Parliament by the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and other great men of the said Commonalty there assembled, to refrain the malice of the said servants, be ordained and established the things under-written.

49. WAGES FIXED BY PARLIAMENT

1350-51.

Statutes, i. 311.

. . . Carters, ploughmen, drivers of the plough, shepherds, swineherds, and all other servants shall take liveries and wages, accustomed in the twentieth year of the present king's reign, or four years before, so that in the country where wheat was wont to be given, they shall take for the bushel ten pence, or wheat at the will of the giver, till it be otherwise ordained. And they shall be hired to serve for a whole year, or by other usual terms, and not by the day; and none shall pay in the time of hay-making but a penny the day; and a mower of meadows for the acre five pence, or by the day five pence; and reapers of corn in the first week of August two pence, and in the second, three pence, and so till the end of

August, and less in the country where less was wont to be given, without meat or drink or other courtesy to be demanded, given, or taken ; and all workmen shall bring openly in their hands to the merchant towns their instruments, and there shall be hired in a common place and not private.

None shall take for the threshing of a quarter of wheat or rye over two pence, and the quarter of barley, beans, peas and oats over one penny if so



REAPERS (early 14th cent.).
MS. Roy. 2 B. vii. (Brit. Mus.).

much were wont to be given ; and the said servants shall be sworn two times in the year to hold and do these ordinances ; and none of them shall go out of the town where he dwelleth in the winter to serve the summer, if he may serve in the same town. . . .

Carpenters, masons, and tilers, and other workmen of houses, shall not take by the day for their work, but in manner as they were wont, that is to say : A master carpenter three pence and another two pence ; a master mason four pence and other masons three

pence; and their servants one penny. Tilers three pence and their knaves one penny, and other coverers of fern and straw three pence and their knaves one penny. Plasterers and other workers of mudwalls, and their knaves, by the same manner, without meat or drink; that is from Easter to Michaelmas; and from that time less, according to the rate and discretion of the justices, which shall be thereto assigned.

The following calculation of average annual wages, without diet, per week, given by Dr. Cunningham in an appendix to his *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (1882), illustrates the rise in wages caused by the Black Death, and the efforts made to check it.

DATE.	LABOURER.	ARTISAN.
1372.	Sixpence to ninepence.	A shilling.
1348.	Two to four shillings.	Four shillings.
1384.	One shilling to one and sixpence.	One and sixpence to two shillings.

50. A TRUCE AND NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE

1354. *Translated from Latin of Robert of Avesbury, 420.
Before 1356.*

After Easter in the year 1354, negotiations for peace were opened near Calais between magnates of the realms of England and France; and an agreement was there entered into as to certain terms of peace, to the effect, so it was said, that the King of England should have in entirety the duchy of Aquitaine for himself and his heirs for ever, in freedom and peace, without paying homage to any king of France; also there were other conditions, concerning which the present writer is unable to

speak; and he was to give up his claim to the throne of France. And it was agreed that, to secure the confirmation of a peace of this nature by the supreme pontiff, accredited ambassadors should be sent by either side to the Roman Court. And at the same time a truce was concluded between the said realms to last till the festival of S. John the Baptist in the year then ensuing.

In the aforesaid year, about the feast of the Nativity, in the presence of the pope at Avignon, the said terms were rehearsed by the noble lords, Henry, duke of Lancaster, John, earl of Arundel, as well as William, bishop of Norwich and Michael at that time bishop of London; there being also there present ambassadors sent to this end by John, king of France; and these said French ambassadors did altogether repudiate the terms, saying that no such agreement had been arrived at, and that they had no wish to enter into any such agreement whatsoever. Thereupon, after the sudden death of the bishop of Norwich, the other English ambassadors returned to England, having failed in their object.

51. THE PRINCE OF WALES' RAID FROM BORDEAUX TO NARBONNE

1355. *Translated from Latin of Robert of Avesbury, 432.
Before 1356.*

After the feast of Epiphany in the year 1355, while the noble king of England was in Northumberland, preparing to invade Scotland, letters arrived in London from the king's eldest son, Edward, prince

of Wales, at that time warring in Gascony, for my lord bishop of Winchester, the king's treasurer ; telling how my lord the prince had right grievously smitten the inhabitants of all the land not under the allegiance of the king of England between Bordeaux and Narbonne which lies near the Mediterranean ; the only exception being the inhabitants of Foys, whom he spared unconditionally and those of Juliac, who surrendered to him. For he captured almost unopposed five hundred country towns as well as very many large cities and walled towns ; and taking great store of spoil he fired and laid waste the whole country, coming and going for eight weeks. After the destruction of Narbonne, with the exception of its fortress which is very strong, the people of Montpelier, hearing the news and fearing a like fate, had all the buildings in the suburbs of the town destroyed and the material brought inside the walls. The scholars of the university there, with some monks and many other inhabitants of the suburbs, and a large number of the people of that district, fled in terror to the town of Avignon, with their belongings, that they might there abide in safety under the protection of the pope. Now the pope, feeling his position insecure, had all the gates of his palace barred with iron. The pope's marshal with more than five hundred men of arms, raised from the dependants of the cardinals along with some Provencals, went out to meet the prince of Wales ; however, more than four hundred of his men were slain, and the marshal himself was captured, being afterwards put to a ransom of 50,000 florins ; he returned with hardly more than fourscore of his

followers and Provencals. *So were they shrunk in the wetting.* After the destruction of Narbonne, the prince of Wales being informed that the count of Armagnac and the constable of France and the marshal of Clermont and the prince of Orange, together with other French lords in almost countless numbers, were following him in the rear to offer battle, wheeled round to meet them. Upon this the Frenchmen, panic-stricken, did not dare to face him, but retreated and scattered through the mountains and fled to other unassailable places of safety. But the English captured many of them.

52. THE BATTLE OF POITIERS

1356. *Translated from Latin of Baker of Swinbrook, 7.
Circ. 1358.*

The prince perceived that there was a hill on his flank, set round with hedges and ditches, but open towards the centre ; on the one side was pasture land and thick scrub, on the other vineyards ; the rest was ploughland ; and it was upon the ploughed crest of this hill that he imagined the French host lay. Between us and the hill was a broad steep valley, and a marsh with a stream running through it. The prince's division with the baggage waggons crossed the stream at a narrow ford, and leaving the valley got across the intervening hedges and ditches, and took possession of the hill, where he was concealed by the nature of the ground among the thickets, while at the same time commanding the enemy. The ground occupied by our first and

second divisions was separated from the open space held by the French by a long hedge and ditch, one end of which stretched down to the marsh mentioned above. The marsh end of the slope was held by the earl of Warwick, the leader of the van. At the top of the long hedge there was an open break or gap made by the harvest-waggons ; and a stone's throw distant was our rearguard, under the earl of Salisbury.

The enemy seeing the prince's banner just displayed and then suddenly moved forward and then, owing to the hill in between, removed from their sight altogether, thought that he was making off, in spite of the protests of Douglas of Scotland and the marshal of Claremont that this was not the case ; accordingly they begin the advance. . . . In the meantime, Claremont, thinking to get through the break in the hedge and encompass our vanguard in the rear, fell in with the earl of Salisbury, who seeing Claremont approach, shrewdly suspected his intention ; and so the commander of our rear-guard, purposing to seize the gap with all haste and head off the enemy's passage, was constrained to sustain the first attack. Then began a terrible struggle between the men-at-arms, fighting with spears, swords, and axes. Nor were the archers failing in their duty, but lying in safe entrenchments and shooting from above the ditch and over the hedge they did more execution than the men-at-arms ; and continuous showers of bolts were discharged by the cross-bowmen.

The earl of Oxford now came up from the prince's division and had the archers deployed on to

the enemy's flank, with orders to shoot at the hind-quarters of their horses ; and by this means the wounded horses reared and threw their riders, and galloping back to their own side did no small harm to their masters, who had devised quite another scheme. . . . Thereupon

[after the defeat of the enemy's first line]

our men retired to order their ranks and our vanguard and middle division joined forces.

Immediately the French second line advances, under the king's eldest son, the Dauphin. . . . It soon becomes a hand-to-hand engagement, and every man for his own life strives to deal death to his foe. And although this division offered us a more stubborn resistance than the former, yet, after a great number on their side had been slain, they made an honourable retreat.

[The first and second line being disposed of, the French king advances in person to the attack.]

Then the prince ordered his standard bearer, Sir Walter Woodland, to advance against the foe ; and with a few fresh men he went to meet the king's great army. . . . Then a formidable body of crossbowmen with thick clouds of bolts darken the air, that now resounds with the deadly hail of arrows shot by the English, in the frenzy of despair. Moreover ashen darts are thrown at the enemy from long range ; but the dense mass of the French in close order protect themselves with shields locked together and keep off the missiles ; thus the archers had emptied their quivers in vain and armed only

with swords and bucklers must attack troops in heavy armour, for they are resolved to sell life dearly.

[When the prince is making his last desperate stand, the Captal de Buch takes the enemy in the rear.]

. . . Here they find a stout and stubborn resistance. The English fall to, so do the French ; their king, albeit of youthful years yet, performs great feats ; but at length, by a swift turn of fortune's wheel, the prince of Wales dashes upon the foe, and breaking their pride, spares the vanquished, and takes the king prisoner.

53. ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE

1356.

Froissart, cc. 160-166.
1369-73.

On the Sunday the French king called to him the lord Eustace Ribemont, the lord John of Landas, and the lord Richard of Beaujeu, and said to them : "Sirs, ride on before to see the dealing of the Englishmen, and advise well what number they be and by what means we may fight with them, either a-foot or a-horseback." These three knights rode forth, and the king was on a white courser and said to his men : "Sirs, among you when ye be at Paris, at Chartres, at Rouen, or at Orleans, then ye do threat the Englishmen and desire to be in arms out against them. Now ye be come thereto ; I shall now show you them ; now show forth your evil will that ye bear them, and revenge your displeasures and damages that they have done you, for without

doubt we shall fight with them." Such as heard him said : "Sir, in God's name so be it ; that would we see gladly."

Therewith the three knights returned again to the king, who demanded of them tidings. Then Sir Eustace of Ribemont answered for all and said : "Sir, we have seen the Englishmen ; by estimation they be two thousand men of arms and four thousand archers and fifteen hundred others. Howbeit they be in a strong place, and as far as we can imagine they are in one battle ; howbeit they be wisely ordered, and along the way they have fortified strongly hedges and bushes ; one part of their archers are along by the hedge, so that none can go nor ride that way, but must pass by them, and that way must ye go an ye purpose to fight with them. In this hedge there is but one entry and one issue by which four horsemen may ride abreast. At the end of this hedge, where no man can go nor ride, there be men of arms afoot and archers before them in manner of a harrow, so that they will not be lightly discomfited." "Well," said the king, "what will ye then counsel us to do?" Sir Eustace said : "Sir, let us be all afoot, except three hundred men of arms, well horsed, of the best in your host and most hardiest, to the intent that they break somewhat and open up the archers ; and then let your battles follow on quickly afoot and so fight with their men of arms hand to hand. This is the best advice that I can give you : if any other think any other way better, let him speak."

The king said : "Thus shall it be done."

[On the eve of battle the Cardinal of Perigord came to the

French king to try and arrange terms of peace ; nothing came of it, for the terms he was allowed to offer the English were rejected.]

That night the Frenchmen took their ease ; they had provision enough and the Englishmen had great default ; they could get no forage, nor could they depart thence without danger of their enemies. That Sunday the Englishmen made great dykes and hedges about their archers to be the more stronger ; and on the Monday in the morning the prince and his company were ready apparelled as they were before, and about the sun-rising in like manner were the Frenchmen.

When the prince saw that he should have battle he said to his men : " Now, sirs, though we be but a small company, as in regard to the puissance of our enemies, let us not be ashamed therefor ; for the victory lieth not in the multitude of people, but where God will send it. If it fortune that the journey be ours, we shall be the most honoured people of all the world ; and if we die in our right quarrel, I have the king, my father, and brethren, and also ye have good friends and kinsmen ; these shall revenge us. Therefore, sirs, for God's sake, I require you do your devoirs this day ; for if God be pleased and Saint George, this day ye shall see me a good knight." These words and such other that the prince spoke comforted all his people. . . .

Then the battle began on all parts, and the battles of the marshals of France approached, and they set forth that were appointed to break the array of the archers. They entered a-horse-back into the way where the great hedges were on

both sides set full of archers. As soon as the men of arms entered, the archers began to shoot on both sides, and did slay and hurt horses and knights, so that the horses when they felt the sharp arrows would in no wise go forward, but drew aback and shied and took on so fiercely, that many of them fell on their masters, so that for press they could not rise again; insomuch that the marshals' battle could never come at the prince. Certain knights and squires that were well horsed passed through the archers, and thought to approach to the prince, but they could not. . . . The battle of the marshals began to disorder by reason of the shot of the archers with the aid of the men of arms, who came in among them and slew of them and did what they list. . . . So within a short space the marshals' battles were discomfited, for they fell one upon another and could not go forth; and the Frenchmen that were behind and could not get forward recoiled back and came on the battle of the duke of Normandy, which was great and thick and on foot; but anon they began to open behind; for when they knew that the marshals' battle was discomfited they took their horses and departed, he that might best. Also they saw a rout of Englishmen coming down a little mountain a-horseback, and many archers with them, who brake in on the side of the duke's battle. True to say the archers did their company that day great advantage; for they shot so thick that the Frenchmen wist not on what side to take heed, and little by little the Englishmen won ground on them.

And when the men of arms of England saw

that the marshals' battle was discomfited, and that the duke's battle began to disorder and open, they leapt then on their horses, which they had ready by them ; then they assembled together and cried : " Saint George ! Guienne !" and the lord Chandos said to the prince : " Sir, take your horse and ride forth ; this journey is yours ; God is this day in your hands ; get us to the French king's battle, for there lieth all the sore of the matter. I think verily by his valiantness he will not fly ; I trust we shall have him by the grace of God and St. George, so he be well fought withal ; and, sir, I heard you say that this day I should see you a good knight." The prince said : " Let us go forth ; ye shall not see me this day return back ; advance, banner, in the name of God and of St. George."

Then the prince and his company dressed them on the battle of the duke of Athens, constable of France. There was many a man slain and cast to the earth. As the Frenchmen fought in companies they cried : " Mountjoy ! Saint Denis !" and the Englishmen " Saint George ! Guienne !" . . . When the duke of Normandy's battle saw the prince approach they thought to save themselves, more than 800 spears that struck no stroke that day. . . . Then the king's battle came on the Englishmen ; there was a sore fight, and many a great stroke given and received. . . . On the French side king John was that day a full right good knight ; if the fourth part of his men had done their devoirs as well as he did, the journey had been his by all likelihood. Howbeit they were all slain and taken that were there, except a few that saved themselves,

that were with the king. . . . Thus this battle was discomfited, and it was in the fields of Maupertuis two leagues from Poitiers, on the twenty-second day of September the year of our Lord 1356.

54. THE PRINCE OF WALES ENTERTAINS THE FRENCH KING

1356.

Froissart, c. 168.

1369-73.

The same day of the battle at night the prince made a supper in his lodging to the French king and to the most part of the French lords that were prisoners. The prince made the king and his son, the lord James of Bourbon, the lord John d'Artois, the earl of Tancarville, the earl of Estampes, the earl Dammartin, the earl of Joinville, and the lord of Partenay to sit at one board, and other lords, knights and squires at other tables; and always the prince served before the king as humbly as he could, and would not sit at the king's board for any desire that the king could make, but he said he was not sufficient to sit at the table with so great a prince as the king was. But then he said to the king: "Sir, for God's sake, make none evil nor heavy cheer, though God this day did not consent to follow your will; for, sir, surely the king my father shall bear you as much honour and amity as he may do, and shall accord with you so reasonably that ye shall ever be friends together after. And, sir, methinks ye ought to rejoice though the journey is not as ye would have had it, for this day ye have won the high renown

of prowess, and have passed this day in valian-
ness all other of your party. Sir, I say not this
to mock you, for all that be on our party, that
saw every man's deeds, are plainly accorded by
true sentence to give you the prize and chaplet." Therewith the Frenchmen began to murmur and say among themselves how the prince had spoken nobly, and that by all estimation he should prove a noble man, if God send him life and to persevere in such good fortune.

55. THE TREATY OF BRÉTIGNY

1360.

Froissart, c. 212.

1369-73.

Our brother of France and his son are bound and promise to deliver and to leave to us, our heirs and successors for ever, the counties, cities, towns, castles, fortresses, lands, isles, rents, revenues, and other things as followeth, beside that we have and hold already in Guienne and Gascony; that is to say, the castle and county of Poitiers and all the lands and county of Poitou; the city and castle of Saintes and all the lands and county of Saintonge, on both sides the river Charente, with the town and fortress of Rochelle and their appurtenances; the city, town, and castle of Perigord and all the country thereto belonging; the city and castle of Limoges and the land and country of Limousin.

[Here follow certain other places, as Cahors, Bigorre, and Angoulême.]

And if there be in the duchy of Guienne any

lords holding any lands within the foresaid bounds, they shall do homage to us and all other services due and accustomed. Also we shall have and hold the county of Ponthieu, the castle and town of Calais, the castle, town, and seignory of Merle; the towns, castles, and seignories of Sangates, Cologne, Ham, Walles and Oye, with the lands, woods, marshes, rivers, rents, revenues, seignories, advowsons of churches, and all other appurtenances and places. . . .

And it hath been agreed that our said brother and his eldest son should renounce all manner of sovereignty and rights that he should have of any of them or for them; and that we should hold them as his neighbour, without any resort or sovereignty to our said brother or to the realm of France. . . .

And also it is agreed that likewise we and our eldest son expressly renounce all things that ought not to be delivered to us by the said treaty, and specially of the name and right to the crown of France and to the realm and homage and sovereignty and domain of the duchy of Normandy, of the county of Touraine, and of the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the sovereignty and homage of the duchy of Brittany. . . .

56. GENEALOGICAL TABLE SHOWING EDWARD'S CLAIM TO THE FRENCH THRONE

Philip III.

Philip IV.

Louis X.

Philip V.

Charles IV.

Isabella. Edward II.

Philip VI.

John II.

daughters

THE DESCENT OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER

Henry III.

Edward I.

Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster

Edward II.

Thomas (beheaded by Edward II.)

Henry

Edward III.

Henry (1st duke of Lancaster)

John of Gaunt (4th son)

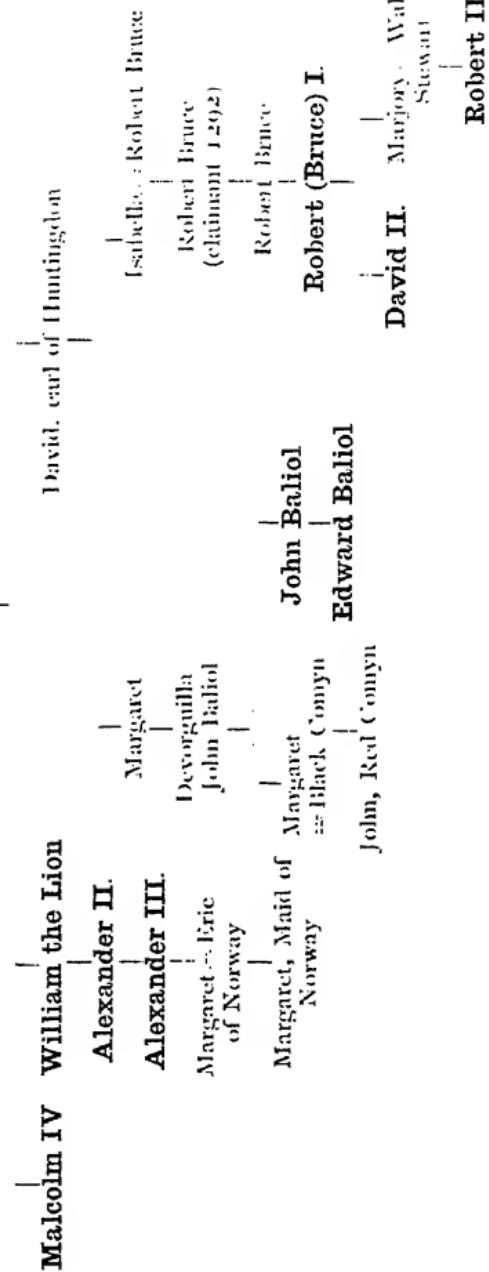
Blanche

Henry, duke of Lancaster
(afterwards Henry IV.)

57. THE SCOTTISH SUCCESSION

David I.

Henry (died before father)



REVIEW OF AUTHORITIES

A short review of the authorities used in the compilation of this book is here subjoined (the references in the text refer to the editions *here* mentioned):—

1. The first place is of course taken by *Froissart*. It is hardly necessary here to decide how far our author is indebted to him whom he delights to call his master, Jehan le Bel, canon of Liège. Suffice it that of all chroniclers *Froissart* is the most delightful and the most readable. It was impossible that treating of such a mass of detail in such an age he should be invariably correct. But on the other hand we shall not be far wrong in maintaining that his general accuracy is remarkable and his good-faith unimpeachable.

Sir John *Froissart* was born at Valenciennes about 1337 and died about 1410. His chief interest in England lay in the fact that he was in the service of his country-woman, queen Philippa, wife of Edward III. The queen died 1369, and *Froissart* spent the rest of his life on the Continent, chiefly in France. About 1376 he re-wrote the earlier portion of his chronicles, and adopted a tone less sympathetic towards the English. The edition here used is the first and better known.

The translation here used is that of lord Berners, who was governor of Calais about the year 1530.

2. *Henry Knighton*, canon of Leicester, wrote a Chronicle extending from 959 to 1366—in which year *Knighton* died. The Chronicle, with its continuation [1377-95], appears in the Rolls Series.

3. *Adam Murimuth* was born 1274 and died 1347. His chronicles are written in a simple, not to say bald, style. But they are the work of a man who was himself engaged in the affairs he describes—having been employed on more than one occasion as king's envoy, notably to the Papal Court. He is indeed essentially an ecclesiastical historian, and his remarks concerning church affairs are of the greatest interest.

4. *Robert of Avesbury*, on the other hand, is at heart a soldier; he delights in describing battles and campaigns. Of his life we know nothing save that he describes himself as registrar of the court of the ~~Arch~~ Bishop of Canterbury. His work breaks off just before Poitiers. Robert of Avesbury as well as Adam Murimuth have been edited for the Rolls Series by Sir E. Maunde Thompson.

5. For Scottish affairs of the period the standard authority is the *Chronicle of Lanercost*. It seems to have been written by a Franciscan of Carlisle. It is throughout English in tone, but displays a singular familiarity with Scottish personages and affairs. It covers the ground from 1201 to 1346. It was edited by Mr. Stevenson in 1839 for the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs.

Other sources from which extracts have been taken are:—*Statutes of the Realm*; Rymer's *Fœdera*, an invaluable collection of documents arranged by Thomas Rymer and dedicated to Queen Anne; the *Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker*, ed. by Sir E. M. Thompson; and lastly the most interesting volume of *Political Poems*, edited by Mr. Wright in the Rolls Series. The poems here chosen are mostly the work

of Laurence Minot, of whom all we are justified in saying is, that he was probably of North-country origin and was one of the popular songsters of the day. The present editor has not felt himself bound to adhere literally to the text of the *Poems*.

In addition to the foregoing, the following, from which there are no extracts in the present edition, will be found of considerable use and interest for further reference :—

1. *Flores Historiarum*. Rolls Series. The period 1306-1325 is the work of Robert of Reading, who died about 1325.
2. *John of Fordun (d. circ. 1384)*. Ed. by W. F. Skene, *The Historians of Scotland*, vols. i. and iv.

“Valuable for the study of the relations of Scotland and England.”—*Gross*.

3. *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.* Rolls Series. 2 vols.

The second volume contains the three following works :—

(a) *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon*, by a canon of Bridlington; a work valued highly by its editor, Dr. Stubbs.

(b) *Vita Edwardi II.* ascribed, probably wrongly, to a monk of Malmesbury; the work is more or less contemporary.

“The best of the three lives.”—*Gross*.

(c) *Vita et mors Edwardi II.*, by Thomas de la Moore. The work is said by Gross to be an extract from Baker.

4. *Johannis de Trekelozœ et Henrici de Blancforde Chronicœ et Annalœ, 1259-1296; 1307-1324; 1392-1406*; being vol. iii. in the Rolls Series edition of the St. Albans Chronicles.
5. *Walter Hemingford*, or his continuor, breaks off his *Chronicle* just before Crecy. Ed. for Eng. Hist. Soc.
6. The *Polychronicon of Higden* is an interesting compilation without much contemporary authority. As edited in the Rolls Series it contains an interesting English translation by John of Trevisa—written about the end of the fourteenth century.
7. *Jehan le Bel. Les vraies Chroniques [1326-1361]*, ed. M. L. Polain.

"This valuable work is the basis of the early part of Froissart's *Chronicles*, and constitutes one of the most important sources of information regarding the Hundred Years' War. The author, a canon of St. Lambert, Liège, took part in Edward III.'s expedition against the Scots in 1327, and was an admirer of that king."—*Gross*.

8. *Munimenta Guildhallæ Londiniensis*, forming part of the Rolls Series, is of use from the commercial and industrial point of view.
9. *Munimenta Academica*, also in the Rolls Series, give an account of life and studies in the University of Oxford during the period.

SOME USEFUL MODERN BOOKS

I. *General*

Green, J. R.—A Short History of the English People (illustrated). 3 vols. Macmillan.

Hallam, Henry.—Middle Ages. 3 vols. Murray.

Stubbs, William.—Constitutional History of England. 3 vols. Clarendon Press.

II. *Books on the Period 1307-1360*

Freeman, E. A.—The reign of Edward III. [Historical Essays (first series).] Macmillan.

This essay was a review of Longman's *Life and Times of Edward III.*

Gasquet, F. A.—The Great Pestilence, 1348-49.

Longman, William.—The Life and Times of Edward III. 2 vols. Longmans.

Mackinnon, James.—The History of Edward III., 1327-1377. Longmans.

Pearson, C. H.—English History in the Fourteenth Century. Rivingtons.

“A good short account.”—*Gross.*

Warburton, William.—Edward III. Longmans.

Ashley, W. J.—Edward III. and His Wars. Nutt.

This is a volume in the series, edited by Prof. York Powell, called “English History from Contemporary Writers.”

III. *Books dealing with Special Aspects*(i) *Army and Navy*—

George, H. B.—Battles of English History. Clarendon Press.

“The best work on this subject.”—*Gross.*

Nicolas, N. H.—A History of the Royal Navy. Out of print.

“The best history of the navy.”—*Gross.*

Clowes, W. L.—The Royal Navy, vol. i. Sampson, Low.

Oman, C.—The Art of War, vol. ii. Unwin.

(ii.) *Church*—

Jesuoff, Augustus.—The Coming of the Friars, and other Studies. Unwin.

A collection of essays dealing with monastic, village and university life.

Milman, H. H.—History of Latin Christianity (bk. xi.). 9 vols. Murray.

Stephens, W. R. W., and *Hunt, William* (editors).—A History of the English Church. Macmillan.

The fourteenth century is dealt with in vol. iii. (W. W. Capes.)

“When completed this series will probably give the best general survey of the history of the English Church.”—*Gross.*

Wakeman, H. O.—An Introduction to the History of the Church of England. Rivington.

“A good brief account.”—*Gross.*

(iii.) *Commerce and Industry*—

Ashley, W. J.—An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory. 2 vols. Longmans.

“Vol. i. deals with the manor, gilds, and economic legislation; vol. ii. with the towns, the crafts, the woollen industry, the agrarian revolution, the

relief of the poor, and the canonist doctrine."—*Gross.*

Cunningham, William.—The Growth of English Industry and Commerce. (vol. i.). 2 vols. Cambridge Press.

— Alien Immigrants in England. Sonnenschein.

"Valuable."—*Gross.*

— The Commercial Policy of Edward III. Royal Hist. Soc. Trans. iv. 197-220.

Rogers, J. E. T.—A History of Agriculture and Prices in England (vols. i. and ii.). 6 vols. Clar. Press.

— Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labour. 2 vols. Sonnenschein.

(iv.) *Social*—

Jessopp, Augustus.—Studies by a Recluse. Unwin.

A collection of essays on various aspects of medieval social life.

Jusserand, J. J.—English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages. Unwin.

Traill, H. D. (editor).—Social England: A Record of the Progress of the People in Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Science, Literature, and Manners. By various writers. 6 vols. Cassell.

"The best general work; there is a bibliography at the end of each chapter."—*Gross.*

The period 1307-1360 is dealt with in vol. ii.

IV. *Bibliographies.*

[As the above works are necessarily but a few from a great mass of authorities, a short list of bibliographies is here given. That by Dr. Charles Gross must long remain the standard English work.]

Gairdner, James.—Early Chroniclers of Europe. England. S.P.C.K.

A work in three volumes—England, France, and Italy.

“A good popular account.”—*Gross.*

Gardiner, S. R., and Mullinger, J. B.—Introduction to the Study of English History. Kegan Paul.

Part i. is a general sketch of English history by S. R. Gardiner; Part ii., by J. B. Mullinger, has a short critical account of the chief sources.

Gross, Charles.—The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485. Longmans.

A great work, entirely superseding all other bibliographies of the sources of English History.

Sonneuschein, W. S.—Bibliography of History. Sonnenschein.

DATE SUMMARY

[*Figures in heavier type refer to number of extract.*]

(1) TROUBLES WITH THE BARONS—PIERS GAVESTON

1307. Just before his death at Burgh-on-sands, Edward I. had banished Piers Gaveston, his son's favourite. On becoming king, Edward II. recalled Gaveston and made him earl of Cornwall (2).

1308. The barons grow jealous of Gaveston; under the leadership of Thomas of Lancaster, the king's cousin (2), they demand his dismissal. Edward pretends to yield; Gaveston is nominally banished; really only sent to Ireland as governor of that country.

1309. Parliament presents a long list of grievances.

1310. Gaveston returns (2).

Lords Ordainers (a council of twenty-one peers and prelates) are appointed for one year to regulate the royal household, and propose reforms.

Edward II. makes a fruitless expedition against Scotland.

1311. The Lords Ordainers present the Ordinances (4). The king promises to reform but breaks his word.

1312. Armed rising against Gaveston; he falls into the hands of Warwick, and is beheaded at Blacklow Hill (2 and 3).

1313. Nominal reconciliation between the king and barons. Rise of new favourites, the Despensers, (father and son). The son is married by Edward's influence to eldest daughter of the late earl of Gloucester.

(2) THE FALL OF ENGLISH POWER IN SCOTLAND

1314. By his indolence and incapacity Edward had allowed all the strongholds in Scotland to fall into Bruce's hands, except only Stirling. To relieve this he goes north with a large army. Battle of Bannockburn; total rout of Edward's army (5 and 6).

(3) THOMAS OF LANCASTER

Lancaster, who had refused to go north (8) with Edward, uses the general contempt for the king as a means of securing his own advancement.

1315. A great famine and cattle murrain.

1316. Lancaster becomes head of the Royal Council: he is not able to make many improvements, as he is hampered by the hostility of the king, the jealousy of the nobles, and the distracted state of the country. This is made worse in the north by Scottish raids.

1318. A Parliament held at York settles the differences between Lancaster and the king. Improvements in judicial procedure are brought about by the *Statute of York*. Scots capture Berwick.

1319. The jealousy between Edward II. and Lancaster makes the attempt to recapture Berwick a failure. Truce with the Scots. Lancaster's power shaken.

(4) FRESH FAVOURITES AND MORE REBELLIONS

1320. Edward encourages the Despensers.

1321. Lancaster persuades Parliament to banish the Despensers and declare their lands forfeit (10).

1322. Edward gathers a force and marches against Lancaster and his ally Mortimer. He gets between them. Mortimer submits. The Despensers are recalled. Lancaster is defeated at Boroughbridge, captured, and executed at Pontefract. Mortimer is imprisoned (12-14).

The Ordinances repealed by a statute which asserts the principle of constitutional government by the king, peers, and commons acting together (14).

1323. Truce with Scotland.

1324. Mortimer escapes to France.

1325. Edward II. had been summoned to France to do homage for his French possessions. He sends his queen, Isabella, to represent him. She joins Mortimer and begins to plot against the Despensers.

(5) THE GOVERNMENT IN THE HANDS OF MORTIMER

1326. The Queen and Mortimer land in England, bringing the young Prince of Wales with them (15). Edward II. and the Despensers flee westwards. They are soon taken prisoners: the Despensers hanged; the king imprisoned (17).

1327. Parliament deposes Edward II.; Edward III. is crowned. Government really rests in the hands of the queen and Mortimer (18).
Murder of Edward II.

1328. Edward III. marries Philippa of Hainault.
Peace of Northampton recognises the independence of Scotland (20). David (son of Robert Bruce) marries Edward's sister.
Death of Charles IV. He is succeeded by Philip VI. of Valois. Edward III. puts forward his claim, but in

1329. Abandons it by going to France and doing homage to Philip VI. for his French fiefs.
Baronial rebellion against Mortimer, who had become unpopular for making peace with the Scots. Death of Robert Bruce (21).

1330. Edward III. arrests Mortimer at Nottingham; he is tried and executed (22).

(6) WAR WITH SCOTLAND LEADS TO TROUBLE WITH FRANCE

1332. Edward Baliol is crowned king of Scotland, but cannot remain in the country.

1333. Edward III. goes with an army to help him, and wins the battle of Halidon Hill (23).

1334. Balliol again driven out (25).

1336. Philip VI., to help the Scots, invades Gascony.

1336. Edward re-asserts his father's claim to sovereignty of the sea (9).

1337. David Bruce established as king of Scotland.

(7) THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR—FIRST PERIOD
TO TREATY OF BRÉTIGNY

Causes (1) alliance between Scotch and French ; (2) the French king's attack on Guienne, the centre of the wine trade ; (3) the hostility between France and Flanders, which threw Flanders into alliance with Edward III., just as Scotland helped Philip VI. ; (4) the desire on the part of the English king to gain more influence in Flanders, which was the home of the weaving industry and the natural market for English wool (27).

The claim to the French throne is a pretext whereby Edward could bind his allies together (28) and profess that he was in the right ; it was never seriously pressed (contrast with Henry V.).

1340. Battle of Sluys (30 and 31), an "archer" battle ; compare Falkirk, Crècy, Poitiers ; contrast Bannockburn.

The early period of the war is barren (32 and 33). Edward gets no help from his Flemish or German allies.

1341. King on his return removes his chief ministers, appointing for the first time a lay chancellor, Sir Robert Bourchier (34).

1341-45. War in Brittany ; England supports John Montfort, and France Charles of Blois in their claims to the duchy.

1346. Campaign of Crècy. Edward III. should have been cut off on his march from Normandy towards Flanders (38), but the French were careless, despising his small force. The English fought on foot ; the Genoese crossbow men were made ineffective by a shower of rain, and their bolt was inferior in range to the English longbow. The English archers really won the battle, but the Black Prince was for a time hard pressed (39).

This battle marks the decline of the feudal cavalry and the rise of the foot-soldiers in military importance.

Scots defeated at Neville's Cross (41 and 42).

1347. Capture of Calais; the town was the key to Flanders and the wool trade (43).

1348. Complaints of Parliament against the king's methods of raising money, especially by increasing the customs.

(8) THE BLACK DEATH

1349. The Black Death; nearly half the population died (44 and 45). This marks the beginning of great social changes. Scarcity of food leads to a rise in prices; consequently the labourers seek for more wages.

The Council tries to check this by an Ordinance of Labourers (46).

1350. The Ordinance of Labourers is made a statute with additional penalties (48). It aims at (1) fixing prices and wages at the rates current before the Black Death (49); (2) preventing labourers from leaving their own employment in search of more profitable work.

This policy leads (1) to the peasant revolt; (2) to the enclosing of open fields and the growth of sheep farming; (3) to the eventual decay of villeinage (see part ii. 30, etc.).

1351. Growing jealousy of the power of the pope in England; Statute of Provisors passed to limit the pope's power of patronage (cf. 36).

1352. Statute of treasons passed.

1353. Statute of Praemunire, by which it is forbidden to carry suits out of the kingdom. (This hostility to the pope further developed by Wyclif and the Lollards, see part ii. 43-47.)

1354. Ordinance of the Staple.

(9) THE WAR RENEWED—CAMPAIGN OF POITIERS

1355. The war had languished, partly owing to the weakness of England after the Black Death. There had been a truce with occasional breaks since 1347; in 1354 John of Gaunt had tried to negotiate a lasting peace through the good offices of the pope.

In this year the English had again three armies

in the field. The French hesitate to fight in the open. The Black Prince raids the valley of the Garonne (51).

1356. The Black Prince, intercepted by a French army much larger than his own, fights at Poitiers. The French attack on foot ; but the English archers, sheltered by a hedge, beat off the attack. A counter-attack of the English, coupled with a charge of horse on the French left, wins the day. John II. of France and his son taken prisoner (52, 53, and 54).

1357. Edward refuses tribute to the pope.

David Bruce released.

1358. Papal envoys are executed in England for breaking the law of the land.

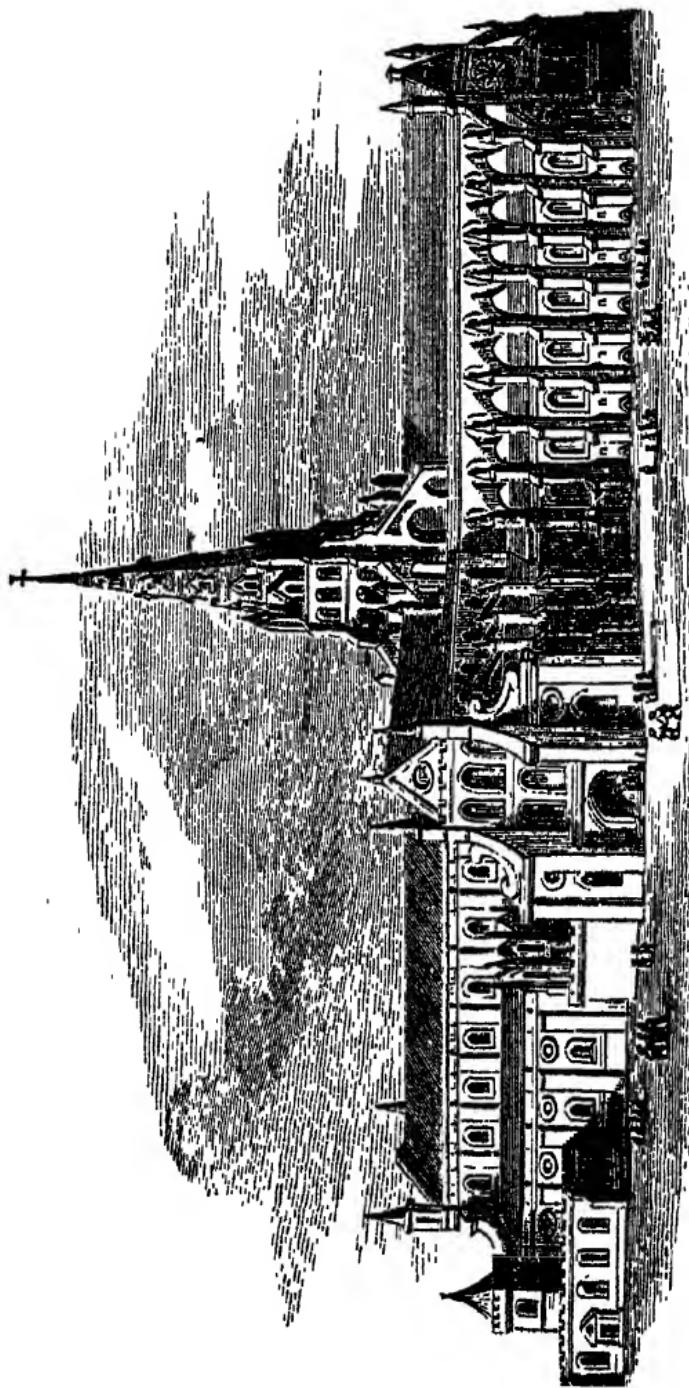
1359. John of Gaunt (fourth son of Edward III.) marries Blanche, heiress of the house of Lancaster, and takes over the title.

English advance on Paris.

1360. Treaty of Brétigny ; Edward received in full sovereignty Aquitaine, including Gascony, Guienne, Poitou, and Saintonge ; he retained Calais and Ponthieu ; he gave up his claim to the duchy of Normandy and to the French throne (55).

[Frontispiece to Part II.]

OLD ST. PAUL'S.



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PART II

INTRODUCTION

THE latter half of the fourteenth century was a period of disappointment. The glories of Crecy and Poitiers faded away ; the more substantial gains of the Treaty of Bretigny vanished also. Edward III. himself, who had been in his earlier days the idol of his people—"careful, loving, and anxious" for his subjects' welfare as Walsingham describes him—was now becoming worn-out and listless, of no account in government. Power passed into the hands of his son, John of Gaunt, an ambitious and selfish man at the head of a set of greedy followers, who misused the money of the kingdom and mismanaged the war with France. And all attempts to set matters right failed. The Commons in the Good Parliament indeed showed a praiseworthy desire for reform, but the Commons were not yet strong enough to stand by themselves. The House sat for too short a time ; the members were too easily won over or frightened ; the sheriffs had too much power over the elections ; the great offenders were too powerful, or too near the throne, to be punished. Thus Parliament's action was fitful and

uncertain ; we have indeed a "Good" Parliament, but we have also a "Merciless" Parliament. Each really reflects the character of the man who inspires its action. One is "Merciless" because Gloucester makes it so ; the other is "Good" because it is under the guidance of the Black Prince.

And the Black Prince himself was the greatest disappointment of all. Never was there an heir to the throne who inspired greater hopes. To those who knew him he was the model of Chivalry—

„A very perfect gentle knight.

Men expected that he would be the support of his father's declining years, a worthy successor to him when he died. Unluckily none of these hopes were realised. The prince, broken down with a lingering disease, died before his father. All the early promise was shattered ; all his triumphs in France were lost ; all his hopes were unattained ; he left behind him a kingdom a prey to misgovernment, and a son at the mercy of self-seeking and jealous relations.

Richard II. was the heir to a rich legacy of troubles. First there was the curse of the war with France, which was always demanding more men and more money, and yet went steadily from one failure to another. Then, as was always the case with a minor on the throne, there were bitter quarrels among the king's uncles and cousins. First, John of Gaunt plotted to usurp the throne. Even when Gaunt's influence had declined, another uncle, Thomas of Gloucester, and a number of turbulent barons continued to hold the reins of power. By waiting his time and dividing his enemies, Richard indeed

seemed to overcome them ; but the house of Lancaster proved too strong for him in the end, and what John of Gaunt had schemed, his son, Henry of Bolingbroke, won at last.

Yet beside the odium of an unsuccessful war and the misery of baronial intrigues and rebellion, Richard II.'s reign had other difficulties. Wyclif represented only too truly the enmity which the nation felt towards the Church. The bishops were worldly men, busy in politics, careless of their religious duties ; the friars were often *hymbugs*, who interfered between the priest and his parish ; the monasteries were quite apart from the world, interested mainly in gathering riches ; the popes seemed either heedless of the wrongs that were done, or, worse still, open encouragers of them. All this called for reform, and the nation was with Wyclif when he pressed for it. Unluckily it is one thing to cry out for reforms ; it is another and a far more difficult thing to get men to agree on the right way of making them. Wyclif's preaching and the poor priests whom he sent out made men discontented, but not united in their discontent. And the disaster of the Great Schism, when there was one pope, Urban VI., at Rome, and another, Clement VII., at Avignon, each proclaiming himself Christ's Vicar and each calling the other Antichrist, caused Wyclif to go beyond his cries for mere reform. It made him deny the authority of the pope altogether. This was indeed going too far for the general body of Englishmen. They were not ready to give up their old beliefs. Still Wyclif had many followers, the Lollards ; and hence came fresh trouble. For the

first time in our history England was vexed with heretics. Their number was large, unknown, growing. They became a distinct danger to the peace of the kingdom.

And last and worst of all was the crop of troubles that sprang from the Black Death. The landowners had set themselves to prevent any rise in prices or wages. Parliament, which was after all only the landowners under another name, had passed a series of Statutes of Labourers to try to prevent the villeins leaving their homes and seeking higher wages. But as the penalties in these statutes became more and more ferocious, it was clear that they were failures. Then the lords grew more strict in exacting services of labour, instead of granting leave to pay a sum of money in commutation of them. This, and an unjust poll-tax, set the country in a flame. The Peasants' Rising followed. Richard's courage and the hesitation of a mob that had lost its leader, and had no very clear idea of what it wanted, saved the day. But many of the peasants were afterwards put to death, and the Government did nothing to redeem their promises. Thus, though the results of the Rising were in the end good, since they led to the abolition of serfdom, yet at the time they were disastrous: they left the poor inflamed against the rich, the labourer angry and suspicious against his lord.

In the midst of all these troubles the character of the king himself has remained a matter of dispute. It is hard to say which of his acts were his own, what share falls to his ministers. Undoubtedly he showed courage and coolness, worthy of his father, in the

great scene at Smithfield, when Tyler lay at his feet, and when the bows of the mob were bent on him ; he governed well in the eight years from 1389 onward. His overthrow of the Lords Appellant may have been ruthless, but it was probably wise. He tried to make himself absolute, but a despotic ruler was better than a weak king and a time of baronial revolt. That the danger which threatened him was real is shown plainly enough in 1399. At the same time from the ease with which his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, overthrew him we must gather that he was unpopular. It is impossible to believe that he would have yielded so tamely had he had a chance of resisting. We may remember the desperate struggle which took place before Henry VI. was cast from the throne, and yet Richard II. fell without a battle, without a blow. There was doubtless some good reason that none, save a favourite or two, was found to support him.

G. T. W.

ENGLISH HISTORY
FROM
CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

1. THE USE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN
THE LAW COURTS

1562.

Statutes, i. 375.

Because it is often showed to the king by the prelates, dukes, earls, barons, and all the commonalty of the great mischiefs which have happened to divers of the realm, because the laws, customs, and statutes of the realm be not commonly holden and kept in the same realm, for that they be pleaded, showed, and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the said realm, so that the people which do implead or be impleaded in the king's court and in the courts of other have no knowledge nor understanding of that which is said for them or against them by their serjeants and other pleaders; and that reasonably the said laws and customs the rather shall be perceived and known and better understood in the tongue used in the said realm, and by so much every man of the said realm may the better govern himself without offending of the law, and the better keep, save, and defend his heritage

and possessions ; and in divers regions and countries where the king, the nobles, and others of the said realm have been, good governance and full right is done to every person, because that their laws and customs be learned and used in the tongue of the country ; the king, desiring the good governance and tranquillity of his people, and to put out and eschew the harms and mischiefs which do or may happen in this behalf by the occasions aforesaid, hath ordained and established by the assent aforesaid that all pleas which shall be pleaded in any courts whatsoever, before any of his justices whatsoever, or in his other places, or before any of his other ministers whatsoever, or in the courts and places of any other lords whatsoever within the realm, shall be pleaded, showed, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue, and that they be entered and enrolled in Latin. And that the laws and customs of the same realm, terms and processes, be holden and kept, as they be and have been before this time. . . . And it is accorded by the assent aforesaid that this ordinance and Statute of Pleading begin and hold place at the fifteenth of S. Hilary next coming.

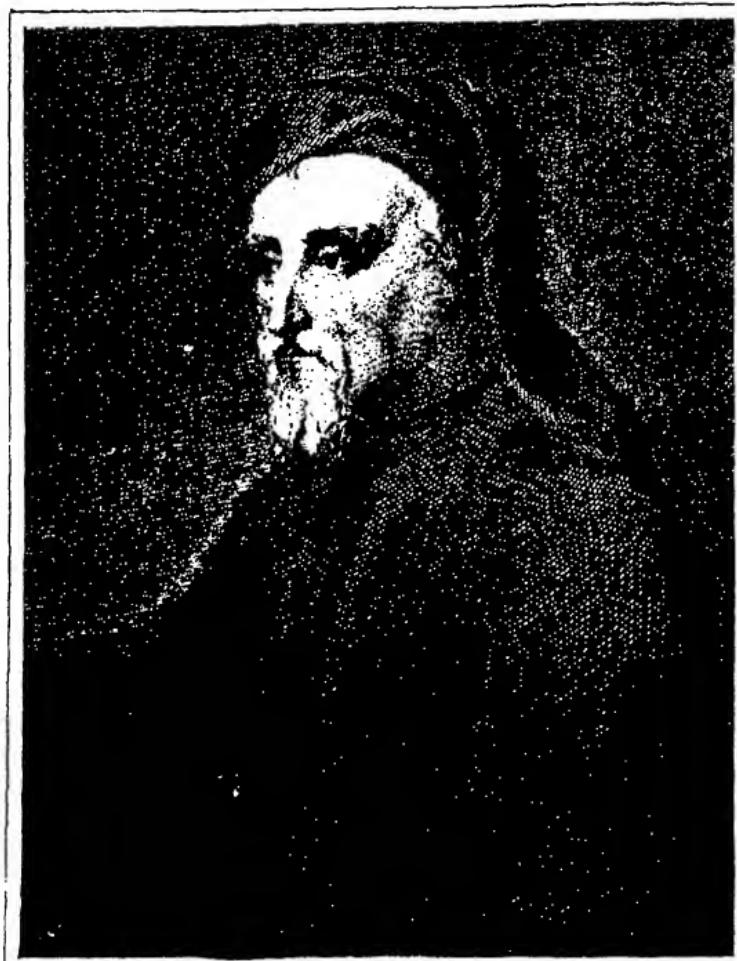
2. EXAMPLES OF ENGLISH WRITTEN ABOUT THIS TIME

1. *The murye Wordes of the Hoost to Chaucer*

Prol. to "Rime of Sir Topas" (ed. Skeat).
Circ. 1387.

Whan seyd was al this miracle, every man
As sobre was, that wonder was to se,

Til that our Hoste jāpen tho bigan,
And than at erst he loked vp-on me,



CHAUCER.
(MS. Harl. 4866, Brit. Mus.).

And seyde thus, "What man artow?" quod he ;
"Thou lokest as thou woldest fynde an hare,
For euer vp-on the ground I sc thee stare.
Approche neer, and loke vp merily."

Now war yow, sirs, and lat this man haue place ;
 He in the waast is shape as wel as I ;
 He semeth eluish by his contenaunce,
 For vn-to no wight doth he daliaunce.

2. *Chaucer to the Readers of the Canterbury Tales*

Cir. 1387.

Now preye I to hem aile that herken this litel tretise or reden it, that if ther be any thing in it that liketh hem, that therof they thanken our Lord Jesu Crist, of whom procedeth all witte and all godenesse ; and if ther be any thing that displeseth hem, I preyc hem also that they arrette it to the defaute of myn unkoning, and not to my wille, that wold fayn have seyde better if I hadde had konning ; for our boke seyth, all that is writen, is writen for oure doctrine, and that is myn entente. Wherfore I beseke you mekely for the mercie of God that ye preye for me, that Crist have mercie of me, and foryeve me my giltes, and graunte me grace of verray penance, confession and satisfaction to don in this present lif, thorgh the benigne grace of him, that is king of kinges and prest of alle prestes, that bought us with the precious blode of his herte so that I mote ben on of hem atte the last day of dome that shullen be saved.

3. *The Vision of William on the Malvern Hills*

Prol. "Piers the Plowman," Will. Langland (ed. Skeat).

1362.

In a somer seson · whan soft was the sonne,
 I shope me in shroudes · as I a shepe were,

In habite as an heremite · unholy of workes,
 Went wyde in þis world · wondres to here.
 Ac on a May mornynge · on Malverne hulles,
 Me byfel a ferly · of fairy, me thouȝte;
 I was very forwandred · and went me to reste
 Vnder a brode banke · bi a bornes side,
 And as I lay and lened · and loked in þe wateres
 I slombred in a slepyng · it sweyued so merye.

3. THE DISUSE OF ARCHIERY

1363. *Translated from Latin of Rymer, "Foedera,"*
 iii. 704.

The king to the lord-lieutenant of Kent, greeting :

Whereas the people of our realm, gentle and simple alike, were wont formerly in their games to practise skill in archery,—whence, by the help of God, it is well known that high honour and advantage came unto our realm, and no mean advantage to ourselves in our feats of war,—and that now, the said skill in archery having fallen almost wholly into disrepute, our people give themselves up to the throwing of stones and of wood and of iron; and some to handball and football and hockey; and to coursing and cock-fighting; and some even to other unseemly sports that be less useful and manly; whereby our realm—which God forbid—will soon, as it appeareth, be stripped of archers:

We, wishing that a fitting remedy be found in this matter, do hereby command you that, in all places in your county, liberties or no liberties, wheresoever

you shall see fit, you have proclamation made to this effect: that every man in the same county, sobeit he be able-bodied, shall, upon holidays, make use, in his games, of bows and arrows, and learn and practise archery:

Moreover, that you prohibit all and sundry in our name from such stone, wood, and iron throwing; handball, football, or hockey; coursing and cock-fighting; or other such idle games; under penalty of imprisonment.

4. DON PEDRO AND HIS BROTHER HENRY

1364.

Froissart, cc. 229-231.

1369-73.

. . . The same season there was a king in Castile called Don Pedro, who was full of marvellous opinions, and he was rude and rebel against the commandments of Holy Church, and in mind to subdue all his Christian neighbours, kings, and princes, and especially the king of Aragon, called Pedro, who was a good Christian prince, and had as then taken from him part of his realm, thinking to have all the remnant. Also this king, Don Pedro of Castile, had three bastard brethren; the eldest was called Henry, the second Don Tello, and the third Sancho. This king Don Pedro hated them so, that he would not suffer them to come in his sight, and oftentimes, if he might have gotten them, he would have stricken off their heads. This bastard Henry was a right hardy and a valiant knight, and had long been in France and pursued the war there and served the French

king, who loved him right entirely. King Don Pedro, as the common bruit ran, had put to death the mother of the children, wherewith they were right sore displeased, and good cause why. Also beside that, he had put to death and exiled divers great lords of the realm of Castile; he was so cruel and so without shame that all his men feared, doubted, and hated him as far as they durst. . . . Whereof great complaints came daily to our holy father the pope, requiring him to find some remedy.

[As Don Pedro refused to hearken to the admonitions of the pope, it was determined to depose him.]

Then the king of Aragon, who hated the king of Castile, was sent for, and also Henry the bastard of Spain, to come to Avignon to the pope; and when they were come, the pope made Henry the bastard legitive and lawful to obtain the realm of Castile, and Don Pedro cursed and condemned by sentence of the pope, and there the king of Aragon said how he would open the passage through his country and provide victuals and purveyances for all manner of people and men of war that would pursue to go into Castile to confound king Don Pedro and to put him out of his realm. Of this ordinance was the French king right joyous, and did his pain to help to get out of prison Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, who was prisoner with Sir John Chandos, and paid for his ransom a hundred thousand franks; part thereof paid the French king and the pope, and Henry the bastard paid the residue. The men of war were to the number of thirty thousand,—all of accord and of one alliance—having great desire to put king

Don Pedro out of the realm of Castile, and to make king the earl of Asturge, his brother Henry the bastard.

[Don Pedro is forced to fly, accompanied by a faithful knight called Ferrant de Castro; after some hesitation and many adventures they take refuge in the castle of Corogne. Ferrant advises him to seek aid from England. He accordingly writes to the Black Prince. The prince upon receipt of the letters holds a council and asks advice; the character of Don Pedro is pointed out to him, and the opinion of the council is all against giving help to Don Pedro.]

. . . . But to these words the prince answered thus, saying: "Lords, I think and believe certainly that ye counsel me truly to the best of your powers. I know well and am well informed of the life and state of this king Don Pedro, and know well that without number he hath done many evil deeds, whereby now he is confounded. But the cause present that moveth and giveth us courage to be willing to aid him, is as I shall show you. It is not convenable that a bastard should hold a realm in heritage, and put out of his own realm his brother, rightful inheritor to the land; the which thing all kings and kings' sons should in no wise suffer nor consent to, for it is a great prejudice against the state royal; and also beside that, the king my father and this king Don Pedro hath a great season been allied together by great confederations, wherefore we are bound to aid him in cause that he require and desire us so to do." Thus the prince was moved in his courage to aid and comfort this king Don Pedro in his trouble.

5. OF THE LETTERS THAT THE PRINCE WROTE
TO KING HENRY

1367.

Froissart, c. 236.

1369-73.

Edward, by the grace of God, prince of Wales and Aquitaine, to the right honourable and renowned Henry, earl of Trastemar, who at this present time calleth himself king of Castile. Sith it is so that ye have sent to us your letters by your herald, wherein were contained divers articles, making mention how ye would gladly know why we take to our friend and lover your enemy our cousin the king Don Pedro, and by what title we make you war and are entered with an army royal into Castile, we answer thereto: know ye for truth it is to sustain the right and to maintain reason, as it appertaineth to all kings and princes so to do, and also to entertain the great alliances that the king of England my dear father and king Don Pedro have had long together. And because ye are renowned a right valiant knight, we would gladly, an we could, accord you and him together; and we shall do so much to our cousin Don Pedro that ye shall have a great part of the realm of Castile, but as for the crown and heritage, ye must renounce. Sir, take counsel in this case; and as for our entering into Castile, we will enter thereas we think best at our own pleasure. Written at Logrono, the thirtieth day of March.

6. OF THE BATTLE OF NAJARA.

1367.

Froissart, cc. 237, 238.

1369-73.

This was a marvellous dangerous battle, and many a man slain and sore hurt. The commons of Spain according to the usage of their country with their slings they did cast stones with great violence and did much hurt, the which at the beginning troubled greatly the Englishmen; but when their cast was past, and that they felt the sharp arrows light among them, they could no longer keep their array. With king Henry in his battle were many noble men of arms, as well of Spain as of Lisbon, of Aragon and of Portugal, who acquitted them right nobly and gave it not up so lightly, for valiantly they fought with spears, javelins, and swords; and on the wing of king Henry's battle there were certain well mounted, who always kept the battle in good order; for if the battle opened or brake array in any side, then they were ever ready to help to bring them again into good order. So these Englishmen and Gascons or they had the advantage, they bought it dearly, and won it by noble chivalry and great prowess of arms; and for to say truth, the prince himself was the chief flower of chivalry of all the world, and had with him as then right noble and valiant knights and squires. . . . There was none that fained to fight valiantly, and also they had good cause why; for there were of Spaniards and of Castile more than a hundred thousand men in harness, so that by reason of their great number

it was long or they could be overcome. King Don Pedro was greatly chafed, and much desired to meet with the bastard his brother, and said: "Where is that caitiff that calleth himself king of Castile?" And the same king Henry fought right valiantly whereas he was, and held his people together right marvellously, and said: "Ah! ye good people, ye have crowned me king, therefore help and aid me to keep the heritage that you have given me." So that by these words and such other as he spake that day he caused many to be right hardy and valiant, wherefore they abode on the field, so that because of their honour they would not fly from the place. The battle that was best fought and longest held together was the company of Sir Bertrand du Guesclin, for there were many noble men of arms who fought and held together to their powers, and there was done many a noblefeat of arms. . . .

When the Spaniards could not sustain nor defend them any longer, but began to fly away in great fear without any good array or order toward the city of Najara, and when the king saw the mischief and discomfiture of his people and that he saw no recovery, then he called for his horse and mounted thereon and put himself among them that fled. . . . Then the Englishmen and Gascons leapt a-horseback and began to chase the Spaniards, who fled away sore discomfited to the great river. . . . So this was a hideous and a terrible discomfiture, and specially on the river-side there was many a man slain; and it was said, as I heard after reported of some of them that were there present, that one might have seen the water that ran by Najara to be

of the colour of red with the blood of man and horse that were there slain. This battle was between Najara and Navaret in Spain the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesu Christ a thousand three hundred three score and six, the third day of April, the which was on a Saturday.

7. SUMMONING OF PRINCE OF WALES TO PARIS

1369.

Froissart, c. 243.

1369-73.

“Charles, by the grace of God, French king, to our nephew the prince of Wales and Aquitaine, send greeting. So it is that divers prelates, barons, knights, universities, commonalties and colleges of the marches and limitations of the country of Gascony, beside divers others of the duchy of Aquitaine, are drawn and are come to our court to have right of certain griefs and troubles unlawful, that you by feeble counsel and simple information have been in purpose to do to them, of the which we have marvel. Therefore to withstand and to remedy the same matters we are so conjoined to them, that by our royal majesty and seignory we command you to come into our city of Paris in proper person, before us in our chamber of our peers, and there to do right on the foresaid complaints and griefs, moved by you to do on your people, who claimeth to have their resort into our court, and that this be not failed in, as hasty wise as ye can after the sight or hearing of these letters. In witness whereof to these presents we have set our seal. Given at Paris the twenty-fifth day of January.”

When the prince of Wales had read this letter, he had great marvel and shook his head and beheld fiercely the Frenchmen. And when he had a little studied, he answered in this manner : "Sirs, we will gladly go to Paris to our uncle, sith he hath sent thus for us ; but I assure you that shall be with bassenet on our head and sixty thousand men in our company."

Then the two Frenchmen kneeled down and said : "Dear sir, for God's sake, take patience, and take not this appeal in so great despite nor be not displeased with us."

.... "Nay," quoth the prince, "sirs I am not displeased with you, but with them that sent you hither ; and the king your master is not well counseled to concern himself with our subjects, or to make himself judge where he hath nothing to do nor no manner of right. For it shall be well showed that at the rendering and putting in possession of the king my father into the duchy of Aquitaine, he quitted all manner of resorts ; for all they that hath caused this appeal to be had against me hath none other resort of right but into the court of England, before the king my dear father ; and or it shall be otherwise, I ensure you it shall cost a hundred thousand men's lives."

8. SACK OF LIMOGES

1370.

Froissart, c. 283.
1369-73.

Then the prince, the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Cambridge, the earl of Pembroke, and all the other with their companies entered into the

city, and all other foot-men, ready apparelled to do evil, and to pill and rob the city, and to slay men, women, and children, for so it was commanded them to do. It was great pity to see the men, women, and children that kneeled down on their knees before the prince for mercy ; but he was so inflamed with ire, that he took no heed to them, so that none was heard, but all put to death, as they were met withal, and such as were nothing culpable. There was no pity taken of the poor people, who wrought never no manner of treason, yet they bought it dearer than the great personages, such as had done the evil and trespass. There was not so hard a heart within the city of Limoges, an if he had any remembrance of God, but that wept piteously for the great mischief that they saw before their eyes ; for more than three thousand men, women, and children were slain and beheaded that day. God have mercy on their souls, for I trow they were martyrs. And thus entering into the city a certain company of Englishmen entered into the bishop's palace and there they found the bishop ; and so they brought him to the prince's presence, who beheld him right fiercely and felly, and the best word he could have of him was, how he would have his head stricken off, and so he was had out of his sight.

9. DISASTERS IN FRANCE

1373.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." i. 315.
Before 1394.*

In the year 1373, John, duke of Lancaster, the king's son, and brother of the prince of Wales,

crossed over to France with a great army to try his fortune there a second time. So he marched by way of Paris to Burgundy, and indeed through the length of France, meeting none willing or daring to offer resistance. But in this expedition he inflicted practically no loss upon the French, except that he set some towns and places to ransom ; but otherwise he hurt none of the enemy. At last he retired with his army from France—where there were abundant provisions and sumptuous meals to be had every day—and advanced into the uninhabited Auvergne, where there could be found neither provisions for the men nor fodder for the horses ; accordingly considerable numbers of his army there perished from hunger and pestilence, while the horses were nearly all lost. At last, sick at heart from his misfortune, he entered Aquitaine, and so arrived at Bordeaux. For whereas when he entered France at Calais he had had more than thirty thousand horses with him, now he brought very few alive with him to Bordeaux ; and there might be seen a sorry sight—soldiers of name and birth, once dainty and rich in English lands, now with their men and baggage lost, begging their bread ; and there was no man to give them. For indeed the land had been ravaged before their arrival by the French, and so had remained untilled till then. None the less the duke spent the winter there. Now a day of battle had been named between himself and the duke of Anjou for the following tenth of April in the neighbourhood of Toulouse. But in the meantime a truce had been made between the two realms from the present time to the twenty-fifth of May next following ; somewhat insecurely,

according to all accounts, as it was made unbeknown to the king of England. When the appointed day arrived, a great French army was there ready, under the command of the said duke of Anjou ; but all the same the duke of Lancaster held aloof from battle on that day, to the no small disgrace and reproach of the English, inasmuch as the French boasted that they had been ready in the field on the appointed day to await the approach of those who did not come. Wherefore they greatly reviled the English, calling them traitors, cravens, and cowards. Such was the result of this expedition.

10. SUPPLIES REFUSED

1376.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." i. 320.
Before 1394.*

In the year of grace 1376, at the beginning of the month of May, king Edward caused a full parliament to be holden at Westminster ; and therein, after wonted custom, he did ask certain supplies from the Commons for the defence of his realm ; but those of the Commons said in reply that they were exceeding weary by reason of such imposts, and maintained truly that they could no longer bear such burdens without sore hurt to themselves. For it was abundantly evident to them that the king had enough for the defence of his realm, if so be the realm had been wisely and faithfully governed ; but so long as such rule were held in the realm as at this present time owing to evil men in office, it would never flourish in prosperity or wealth. And they

offered to prove this beyond dispute ; and if after this proof it should be found that the king were in any further need, they would help him according to their ability. Now in the conduct of the matter many facts were brought forward concerning the king's friends, and especially concerning lord Latimer, his treasurer, who ruled the king with most evil governance. Wherefore the duke of Lancaster, lord Latimer, and many other high officers of the king were removed and others chosen in their places.

11. THE GOOD PARLIAMENT

1376.

Translated from Latin of "Chronicon Angliae"
(St. Albans), 70 sq.
Cirr. 1390.

In the year of our Lord 1376, in accordance with the king's commands, a parliament was held in London, which met in the octave of S. George, and sat almost continuously for nine weeks ; and in it supplies were urgently asked for the king from the Commons. But the representatives from the shires, inspired by Heaven as we suppose, after careful deliberation, refused to give a reply to such petitions without consulting the magnates. . . . When therefore these nobles and knights of the shires had deliberated upon the royal petition, it was agreed among them that they should with one mind refuse the king what he asked until certain abuses and grievances should be righted, and until certain persons should be removed, who were seen to have impoverished the king and the realm, to have blackened his fair fame, and in many ways to have weakened

his power, and that their excesses should be fittingly punished in accordance with their deserts.

[Their next step is to elect an honest speaker.]

. . . But while they were perturbed thereon, God raised the spirit of a knight of their body, called Peter de la Mare, pouring into his heart most abounding wisdom and boldness to carry out what he had conceived in his mind, and a wonderful eloquence. . . . He was not to be bent by any threats of the magnates, nor softened by any bribes from following the straight line of justice.

[Peter states the grievances in parliament, and reduces the duke of Lancaster and his party to try other means to secure their ends ; the duke becomes unexpectedly gracious, and the Commons proceed to the impeachment of the king's bad advisers.]

. . . Thereafter, standing up in their seats, the Commons alleged against lord Latimer, the king's chamberlain, by the mouth of Peter de la Mare, that he was useless to the king and the realm. Wherefore they vehemently demanded that he should be deprived of his office, because, they maintained, he had too often beguiled the king, and had proved false, not to say a traitor to him.

[Richard Lyons being implicated tries to bribe the prince of Wales unsuccessfully ; but he succeeds with the king, who remarks that he is but getting back his own. Lord Nevill supports Latimer, but is silenced by Peter de la Mare. At last the duke of Lancaster is compelled to give sentence against them.]

. . . For the duke was anxious to appease the people, who he knew hated Latimer and Lyons, and

he feared the authority of the prince of Wales, who he knew wished well to the people and the Commons, and therefore he deprived lord Latimer of his office, for he had been the king's chamberlain ; and he confiscated all his goods to the king. And as he did not wish to throw him into prison, being a peer of the realm, he ordered him to be kept under observation till the king's pleasure should be known concerning him. It was also determined by the common decree of parliament that the said lord Latimer should be in disgrace henceforth, and should in no wise be admitted to the council of the king or the realm. But he deprived Richard Lyons of all the lands and holdings that he held in England, and ordained him to be imprisoned in the Tower of London. But the king's death soon after put an end to this strictness ; for after his death the duke did whatever he wished, as we shall show hereafter.

[Sir Richard Sturry is banished from court, though afterwards recalled ; but the parliament is greatly discouraged by the death of the Black Prince during its session, especially as Lancaster wishes to discuss the question of succession to young Richard. The Commons refuse to consider the matter, and pass on to their reforms, which result in cancelling certain privileges given to the people of Yarmouth in the sale of herrings, and in the banishment after a severe struggle of Alice Perrers.]

... Thereupon, seeing that the end of the parliament was now at hand, taking into consideration the king's imbecility and the opportunity presented to some of his friends for seizing the realm, the Commons proposed, on behalf of the people, that twelve peers of the realm, loyal and discreet and free from greed, should be always present at the councils of

the king and the realm ; so that at least six of them should be ever with the king for less important business, and that for the transaction of great affairs all the twelve should be required. For the Commons were urged thereto by the greed of certain Englishmen, to whom the king had given too great opportunity to dispose of the affairs of the realm, and who in the pursuit of rewards and bribes had turned aside after covetousness ; and with them everything was for sale—even the faith and justice that they owed to the king and the people. Wherefore a very great murmur of the people arose, because they made all those without money go without justice. . . . Now the duke, calling their demand just with his lips, but pondering something else in his heart, decided that their demand should be granted, and had the said peers elected by the Commons. Their election took place accordingly. . . . And all these enactments the king promised to hold and abide by ; and this was the end of the parliament.

12. DEATH OF THE BLACK PRINCE

1376.

Froissart, c. 314.

1376.

The same season on Trinity Sunday there passed out of this world the flower of chivalry of England, Edward, Prince of Wales and of Aquitaine, at the king's palace of Westminster beside London. And so he was embalmed and put in lead, and kept till the feast of Saint Michael next after, to be interred with the greater solemnity when the parliament

should be there. King Charles of France because of lineage did his obsequy reverently in the Holy Chapel of the palace in Paris, and there were many of the prelates and nobles of the realm of France; and so then the truce was prolonged to the first day of April next after. . . .

13. AN IDEAL KNIGHT

*Chaucer, Prol. "Canterbury Tales" (ed. Skeat),
1386-88.*

A knyght ther was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisye.
Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre,
And therto hadde he riden (no man ferre)
As wel in Cristendom as hethenesse,
And ever honoured for his worthinessse.

At Alisaundre he was, whan it was wonne;
Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bigonne
Aboven alle naciouns in Pruce.
In Lettow hadde he reyzed and in Ruce.
And evermore he hadde a sovereyn prys.
And though that he were worthy, he was wy's,
And of his port as meke as is a mayde.
He never yet no vilenye ne sayde
In al his lyf, un-to no maner wight.
He was a verray parfit gentle knyght.

14. WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM IN DISGRACE

1376.

*Translated from Latin of "Chronicon Angliae"**(St. Albans), 116.**Circ. 1390.*

[The work of the Good Parliament was soon undone by



WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

From Portrait, New College, Oxford.

the return of John of Gaunt to power after his brother's death. One of his first acts was to imprison Peter de la Mare and accuse Wykeham of misusing public funds.]

But while this was the position of affairs as far

as the king was concerned, the duke of Lancaster belched forth the venom within him, and laid the snares of his wickedness against William Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, seeking to ruin him by all ways and means whatsoever. At last among many false charges that he preferred against him, he declared that he had been a traitor to the king at the time of his holding the office of chancellor. And although the bishop was prepared to bring forward on his behalf reliable witness and satisfactory proofs to establish his innocence, yet, under the presidency of William Skipwit, a corrupt justice, he had him condemned without a chance of replying, and the temporal possessions of his bishopric taken from him by the king's authority. And to obtain popularity he prevailed upon the king to grant these goods to the son of the late prince of Wales, Richard of Bordeaux, earl of Chester, who had lately received as a gift from the king his father's principality, and the same name. Moreover, he forbade the bishop, in the king's name, to presume to approach within twenty miles of the court.

15. CHARACTER OF EDWARD III

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." i. 327.
Before 1394.*

Verily amid all the kings and princes of the world, this king had been of great renown, kindness, mercy and honour; so was he called Edward the Courteous by reason of the exceeding courtesy wherein he did excel; for indeed by virtue of the

courtesy that God did grant unto him, he did surpass all those that went before him in the abundance of his courtesy. Right brave of heart he was, for albeit he knew that he must suffer the shifts of fortune or the hap of evil plight, yet never did he



A HUNTING PARTY.

From 14th cent. MS., Bibliotheque Nat. de Paris.

blench or change countenance. In war he was as renowned as prosperous ; for from all his conflicts waged by land and sea, he ever brought victory home in glorious triumph. To friend and foe alike he showed himself kindly, lowly-minded and generous ; of his subjects, careful, loving and

anxious for their welfarc ; piously governing them withal. In religion he was truly devout, often going on pilgrimage and paying high honour and respect unto the servants of the Church. In business he was far-sighted, of an even temper and prudent in counsel ; his speech was gentle and pleasant ; his actions and conduct grave and full of dignity.

To orphans he was a second father, pitiful to those in distress, of great sympathy to the wretched, of comfort to the oppressed ; while to all in need he was ever apportioning present succour. Of a truth in the granting of favours he was, beyond all living, ever bountiful and ready ; modest amid abundance of riches, not puffed up nor high-minded, but ever master of himself ; to inferiors he behaved as an equal, and among the leaders and princes of the world he showed himself of high degree. In the raising of buildings he was right skilled and jealous ; in divers places of his realm he did establish many buildings, most exquisitely finished and elegantly built, in their situation most lovely and most lavish in their endowments. Gladness he bare with restraint, loss with equanimity. In sport his recreations were hawking and hunting ; and therein, as oft as he had leisure, according as the season of the year offered, he did take great pleasure. In gifts he was generous and open-hearted, lavish in his expenditure. In person he was handsome, and of average height ; his countenance, more reverent than is wont with men, was like unto an angel's ; wherein there shone so wondrous a graciousness, that whoso should have looked upon his face would have dreamed theron in the night ; for of a

certainty he conceived this hope of it by day that there should come to him pleasant delights.

Now right up to old age he did ever govern his realm with vigour, wisdom and glory. And because in the whole fair conduct of his life he had been of high renown, it seemed unto his people that life under him was very kingship. Of a truth his fame so spread abroad among barbarous and distant nations that those thought themselves lucky who were beneath his sway, or in any way bound to him. For they deemed that there could be no realm under heaven that hath show'd a king so noble, so worshipful, and so prosperous, or, in case of his death, will raise up such an one for the coming time.

Finally in this place must we mark that, as in his early years all things happily and prosperously redounded to his glory and renown, so as he drew nigh unto old age and his decline, by reason of his sins his prosperity did by degrees ever decrease, and there arose much that was of civil fortune and right unhappy and mischievous ; the which, alas ! did serve to minish his high repute.

16. ON THE DEATH OF EDWARD III.

1377. “*Political Poems*,” i. 215 (*modernised*).
1377.

Ah, dear God ! what may this be
That all things wear and waste away !
Friendship is but a vanity
Unless it standeth sure alway.

Friends at need do prove so loth,
So sad to lose, so glad to get,
And so fickle in their troth ;
What's seldom seen we soon forget.

I say it not without a cause,
And therefore take ye right good heed ;
For if ye construe well this clause
I put you wholly out of dread.
For pure shame your heart would bleed
If ye this matter wisely treat.
Him that was our utmost speed,
Now seldom seen we soon forget.

Sometime an English ship we had ;
Noble it was and high of tower ;
Through Christendom 'twas held in dread
And stiff would stand in battle hour ;
And best durst bide the sharpest shower,
And other storms both small and great ;
But now that ship, that bare the flower,
So seldom seen we soon forget.

Though thus this lord is laid full low,
The stock is of the self-same root ;
A shoot beginneth now to grow,
And yet I hope shall live to put
In fight his foemen underfoot,
And as a lord in state be set—
If Thou, O Lord, do grant our suit ;
What's seldom seen we soon forget.

And therefore this is what I bid,
Till that this root do fully grow ;

That every man lift up his head
 And give him cheer both high and low.
 The Frenchmen can both boast and blow
 And visit us with scorn and threat,
 And we be both unkind and slow ;
 What's seldom seen we soon forget.

Therefore, good sirs, keep in regard
 Your doughty king that died in age ;
 And eke his son our Prince Edward
 That famous was for all courage.
 Such two lords of high parage *
 Are not in earth for us to get ;
 And now their loss doth time assuage ;
 What's seldom seen we soon forget.

17. FRENCH RAIDS IN KENT

1377. *Translated from Latin of Rymer, "Foedera," iv. 3.*

The king, to the lords, knights, squires and others
 whosoever in the county of Kent, greeting.

Whereas we have been informed that of a certainty
 our enemies of France and others their allies have,
 with a great host of armed troops, attacked the
 shipping off the said county and are preparing to
 destroy us and our lieges, unless by God's help
 some more strenuous resistance be offered to their
 array ;

We have charged and appointed our dear uncle,
 Edmund, earl of Cambridge, constable of our castle
 of Dover, and our beloved and faithful servants,
 William Latimer, John Cobham of Kent, John Clinton,
 and Stephen Valence, together and individually to

order and arrange for resisting our said enemies and for protecting and defending the coasts of the said county in the safest and best manner according to their discretion ;

And whenever there be need for any of the said county, of whatsoever rank or condition, to resist our enemies, we order that they be constrained and compelled so to do, either by imprisonment or in any other way ;

And so we order and command you and yours on your allegiance to obey and help the same earl, and William, John, Stephen, and John in everything that concerns or may concern the resistance of our said enemies and the protection and defence of the said county and those parts, according as they advise you from time to time in our behalf.

WESTMINSTER, June 30.

[There are several other letters of the same nature, about the same date, for the protection of other parts of the coast, notably Southampton.]

18. JOHN WYCLIF

1377.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." i. 324.*

1394.

About the same time there arose in the University of Oxford a Northerner called Master John Wyclif, a doctor in divinity, who publicly held in the schools and elsewhere mistaken and heretical opinions, contrary to the holding of the Catholic Church, and especially bitter against the monks and other landed churchmen. And that he might the

more carefully close his heresy and most speciously



INTERIOR OF OLD ST. PAUL'S, LOOKING EAST.

extend it, he gathered unto him workers of iniquity —to wit, friends and associates of one school abiding

in Oxford and elsewhere; and these wore russet gowns, for a token of greater perfection, and walked barefooted, to spread their heresies among the people and preach them openly and even publicly in their sermons.

And among other things these were the opinions with which they were primed: that the Church of Rome is not the head of all the Churches, more than any other single Church, and that no greater power was granted to Peter by Christ than to any other apostle; that the pope has no greater power in the keys of the Church than any one else in the order of the priesthood; that temporal lords may, with law and approval, deprive a bankrupt Church of its property. . . ; that the Gospel is a sufficient rule of life for any Christian, and that all the other rules of the Saints, to which divers men of religion conform, add no more perfection to the Gospel than doth whitewash to a wall. . . .

These and many other errors, to the great jeopardy of our Faith, were so spread by the said seducers that lords and magnates of the realm, and many of the people supported them in their preaching and favoured those who preached these errors; doubtless chiefly for this reason, because in their teaching they gave laymen power to rob churchmen of their temporal possessions.

But when these propositions and ravings had been exposed and examined before the pope, with his own hand he condemned twenty-three of them as heretical and idle; and he sent bulls to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London that they should have the said John arrested and

carefully examined on the aforesaid propositions. Whereupon the archbishop . . . in the presence of the duke of Lancaster and lord Henry Percy, enjoined silence on him and all others with regard to these matters. . . . And so both himself and his followers were silent for some time. But at length, by the countenance of the temporal lords, they afterwards ventured to take up again and spread among the laity the same opinions, and others much worse than those they spread before. Now on that day on which the foregoing had been transacted at London, on account of some insult uttered by the duke of Lancaster to the bishop of London, the Londoners forthwith rose as one man, seized their arms and purposed to put him to death. But the bishop would in no way suffer this, and had he not opposed their intent at that time, they would have burnt the Savoy, the duke's mansion, in their rage. . . . Among other insults offered to the duke, they reversed and burnt his coat of arms in the streets.

19. ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF JOHN WYCLIF

*Translated from Latin of Henry Knighton, ii. 151.
Cir. 1395.*

At that time lived Master John Wyclif, Rector of the parish of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester, the most distinguished divine of the day. In learning he was considered second to none, in scholarship without a peer. He took especial pains to gain the mastery over other men's minds by the subtlety of his knowledge and the depth of his intellect, and to pervert them from their belief. It is said that he

brought into the Church many opinions repudiated by orthodox divines, as will be partly shown in due course. Just as Christ had John the Baptist for His forerunner, so this man had John Ball, who prepared his ways before him in such doctrines and alarmed



JOHN WYCLIF.
After Portrait at Knole.

many by his teaching. The Gospel, which our Lord gave into the hands of the clergy and doctors of the Church, that they should minister to laymen and the weaker brethren, according to the demands of the season and the needs of individuals, was translated by this Master John Wyclif from Latin into English —speech of Angles not Angels; wherefore through

him the Gospel is made common and more open to laymen and women who know how to read than it is wont to be to the clergy, till now the lettered and cultured class ; and so the pearl of the Gospel is cast abroad and trampled on by swine, and thus what is wont to be dear to clergy and laity is now considered a subject of mirth to both alike, and the jewel of the clergy is turned into a laughing-stock of the laity, so that what formerly had been a supreme privilege to the clergy is now for all time the common property of the laity.

20. A PICTURE OF A CLERK

*Chaucer, Prol. "Canterbury Tales" (modernised).
1386-88.*

A Clerk there was of Oxenford also,
That logic's lore methinks did fully know.
But he had got him yet no benefice
Nor was so worldly to have an office.
For he had rather have at his bed's head
Some twenty books, clothed in black or red,
Of Aristotle and his philosophy,
Than garments rich, or fiddle or loud psaltery.
Not a word spake he more than there was need ;
And that was said in form and reverence,
And short and quick, and full of high sentence.
Sounding in moral virtue was his speech,
And gladly would he learn and gladly teach.

21. THE PARSON

*Chaucer, Prol. "Canterbury Tales" (modernised).
1386-88.*

A good man there was of religion
 That was a poor parson of a town ;
 But rich he was of holy thought and work ;
 He was also a learned man, a clerk ;
 And Christ's Gospel truly would he preach,
 His people all devoutly would he teach.
 Benign he was and wonder diligent
 And in adversity full patient.
 Wide was his parish and houses far asunder ;
 But he left nought undone, for rain or thunder ;
 In sickness and in trouble he would visit
 The furthest in his parish—high or low,
 Upon his feet—and in his hand a staff.
 This noble example to his sheep he gave,
 That first he wrought, and afterwards he taught.
 A better priest I trow that nowhere none is.
 He waited after no pomp nor reverence,
 Nor maked him no spiced conscience,
 But Christ's dear lore, and His apostles twelve
 He taught, but first he followed it himself.

22. AGAINST THE FRIARS

*"Political Poems," i. 265
(modernised).*

Guile they know and many a jape ;
 For some can with a pound of sape (soap)
 Get a kirtle and a cape
 And somewhat else thereto.

Why should I ought else declare?
 Never a pedlar pack doth bear
 That half so dear can sell his fare
 As a friar can.

For if he give a wife a knife
 That cost but pennies two,
 Ten pennies' worth he'll get, I vow,
 Ere he his road pursue.

23. THE FRIARS

John Wyclif ("Fifty Heresies and Errors of Friars")
S.E.W. iii. 366-401 (spelling modernised).

1384.

Also friars say that it is needful to leave the commandment of Christ, of giving of alms to poor feeble men, to poor crooked men, to poor blind men and to bedridden men, and give this alms to hypocrites that feign them holy and needy when they be strong in body and have overmuch riches, both in great houses and precious clothes, in great feasts and many jewels and treasure; and thus they slay poor men with their false begging, since they take falsely from them their worldly goods, by which they should sustain their bodily life; and deceive rich men in their alms and maintain or comfort them to live in falseness against Jesus Christ. For since there were poor men enough to take men's alms, before friars came in, and the earth is now more barren than it was, our friars or our men had to go without this alms; but friars by subtle hypocrisy get to themselves and prevent poor men from having this alms. . . .

Also friars feign them as hypocrites, to keep straightly the Gospel and poverty of Christ and His apostles ; and yet they are most contrary to Christ and His apostles in hypocrisy, pride, and covetousness. For they show more holiness in bodily habit and other signs than did Christ and His apostles, and for their singular habit or holiness they presume to be even with prelates and lords, and more worthy than other clerks ; and in covetousness they can never make an end, but by begging, by crying, by burying, by salaries and trentals, and by shriving, by absolutions and other false means cry ever after worldly goods, where Christ used none of all these ; and thus for this stinking covetousness they worship the field as their God. . . .

Also friars be thieves, both night thieves and day thieves, entering into the Church not by the door, that is Christ. . . .

Also friars be wasters of treasure of our land by many blind and unskilful manners. For first they blind them blindly from freedom of the Gospel and then spend much gold to get them dispensation ; and many times bring vain pardons and other vain privileges, and in all this the gold of our land goes out, and simony and curse and boldness in sin come again. . . .

Friars also be most privy and subtle procurators of simony and foul winning and begging of benefices, of indulgences and travails, pardons and vain privileges. For men say they will get a great thing of the pope, or of cardinals in England, more cheaply than other procurators ; and they be more wily and more pleasantly can flatter the pope and his court ; and

most privily make lords to maintain the pope, in robbing our land of treasure by his pardons, privileges, and the first-fruits of benefices in our land, and dimes and subsidies to war on Christian men, for stinking worldly lordship that God has forbidden to him and all priests ; and in false confession they stir lords much thereto and need to destroy the land when they maintain the pope and this false robbing.

Of these fifty heresies and errors, and many more if men will seek them well out, they may know that friars be cause, beginning, and maintaining of perturbation in Christendom, and of all evils of this world, and these errors shall never be amended till friars be brought to freedom of the Gospel and clean religion of Jesus Christ.

24. THE FRIARS

*William Langland, "Piers Plowman," c. x. 242-258,
(modernised).*

1393.

Do we see them on Sundays, the service to hear,
At matins, in the morning ? Till mass begin
Or even till even-song, see we right few !
Or work they for their bread, as the law bids ?
No, but at mid-day meal-time I meet with them often
Coming in a cope as if they were clerks ;
And for the cloth that covereth them call'd is he a
friar,
Washeth and wipeth and with the first sitteth.
But while he worked in the world and won his
meat with truth
He sat at the side bench and second table.

Came no wine to his lips all the week long,
 Nor blanket in his bed, nor white bread before him.
 The cause of all this mischief cometh of many bishops
 That suffer such sots, and other sins to reign.
 Of a truth, an we dare say so: *Simon quasi dormit* ;
 'Twere better to *watch*, for thou hast great charge.

25. PICTURE OF A MONK

Chaucer, Prol. "Canterbury Tales" (modernised).
 1386-88.

A monk there was, a fair one for the mastery,
 A rider-out, that loved venery ;
 A manly man, to be an abbot able,
 Full many a dainty horse had he in stable ;
 And when he rode, men might his bridle hear
 Jingle in a whistling wind so clear,
 And eke as loud as doth the chapel bell. . . .
 He gave not of that text a pulled hen
 That saith that hunters be not holy men ;
 Nor that a monk, when he is cloisterless,
 Is like unto a fish that is waterless ;
 This is to say, a monk out of his cloister.
 But this same text held he not worth an oyster. . . .
 Greyhounds he had as swift as fowl in flight ;
 Of pricking and of hunting for the hare
 Was all his lust, for no cost would be spare.
 I saw his sleeves trimmed at the wrist
 With fur, and that the finest of the land.
 And for to fasten his hood under his chin
 He had of gold there wrought a curious pin :
 A love knot in the greater end there was. . . .
 He was a lord full fat and in good point ;

His boots were supple, his horse in great estate.
 Now certainly he was a fair prelate ;
 He was not pale as is a pined ghost.
 A fat swan loved he best of any roast.

26. A PARDONER

*William Langland, "Piers Plowman," i. 65-79,
 (modernised).
 1362.*

There preached a pardoner, as though he were a priest,
 And brought forth a bull, with bishop's seals,
 And said that he himself might all absolve
 From fasts ill-kept and vows that they had broke.
 Laymen believed him well, and liked his words,
 And came and kneeled to kiss his bulls.
 He tripped them with his letters, threw dust into their eyes,
 And hooked them with his parchments, rings and brooches.
 Thus ye give your gold, gluttons to help,
 And pay it out to wantons, that love vice.
 Now were the bishop good or worth his ears,
 His seal should not be sent to cozen folk.
 The parish priest and pardoner do share the silver
 That poor parish folk should have, if 'twere not so.

27. CAPTURE OF BERWICK CASTLE BY THE SCOTS

1378.

*Froissart, c. 322.**Circ. 1400.*

King Charles of France, though he remained at Paris and took his pleasure, without arming his own person, yet he kept war in divers places against the English his enemies; and procured alliances, as well within the realm as in any other country about; and because he saw well king Richard of England was but young, and the realm in trouble and discord, therefore he sent into Scotland divers times, both to king Robert and to king David his uncle, always to entertain them in love, desiring them ever to make good and sharp war on the English, and so to annoy them that they should have no forces to pass the sea. Insomuch so it happened that king Robert of Scotland, the same season that king Edward III. was dead and king Richard crowned, assembled his Council at Edinburgh in Scotland, where were most of the barons and knights of Scotland and other places that he thought would do him service, showing them that the Englishmen in time past had done them many great injuries, as in burning of their countries, beating down their castles, slaying and ransoming their men. Then the barons and young knights that were there answered all with one voice, that they were all ready apparellled to ride into England, if it were the same day or the next or when it pleased him. This answer pleased greatly the king of Scots, who thanked them all, and there



BERWICK-ON-TWEED. (After J. M. W. Turner.)

the king ordained four earls to be as chief captains of all the men of war; and they were the earl of Douglas, the earl Murray, the earl of Mar, and the earl of Sutherland, and the constable of Scotland, Sir Archibald Douglas, and the marshal of the host, Sir Robert Versy; and so they made their summons to be at a certain day at Morlane; and in the making of this assemblage there departed from them a valiant squire of Scotland called Alexander Ramsey, who thought to enterprise to achieve a great feat of arms and took with him forty men well mounted, and rode so long by night privately, that by the day in the morning he came to Berwick, which was English; and captain of the town was a squire of the earl of Northumberland, named John Biset; and in the castle was captain a valiant knight called Sir Robert Boynton.

When the Scots were come to Berwick they kept themselves private, and sent a spy to the town and the castle, to see in what condition it was; the spy entered down into the dykes where there was no water, nor none could abide there, for it was all a quick-boiling sand; and so the spy looked and hearkened all about, but he could not hear nor see any creature, and so he returned and showed all that to his master. Then Alexander Ramsey advanced forth and brought all his company privately into the dykes, and had with them ladders, and so placed them against the walls. Alexander was one of the first that mounted, with his sword in his hand, and so entered into the castle, and all his company followed him, for there were none that withstood them; and when they were all within they went to the chief

tower, where the captain was asleep, and so there suddenly with great axes they broke open the door. The captain suddenly awoke and had slept all night, and had made but little watch, for which he suffered severely, and so opened his chamber door, supposing the noise had been made by some of his own soldiers, that would have robbed or murdered him in his bed, because he had displeased them the week before. And so he leaped out of a window down into the dykes, in great fear, without order or good advice, so that with the fall he broke his neck, and there he died. The watchmen were half asleep and heard the noise and awoke, and perceived well that the castle was scaled and betrayed, and so sounded a trumpet of alarm. John Biset, captain of the town, hearing a trumpet, armed himself and caused all them of the town to be armed, and so all drew before the castle and heard well the noise that the Scots made within ; but they could not enter, for the gate was shut and the bridge drawn. Then the captain, John Biset, remembered a good plan, and said to them of the town that were about him : " Let us break down the stays of the bridge on this side, and then they within cannot issue without danger." Immediately with axes they beat down the bridge and stays thereof towards the town ; and then John Biset sent a messenger to Alnwick, twelve short miles thence, to the lord Percy, to inform him of all the matter, desiring him to come without delay, with some great force, to rescue the castle of Berwick, so taken by stealth by the Scots.

Alexander Ramsey and his company who had thus scaled the castle of Berwick, and thought they

had done a great enterprise (and so they had done indeed, if John Biset had not provided a sudden remedy, for else they had been also lords of the town), slew of them within the castle whom it pleased them, and the residue they took prisoners ; and shut them up fast in a tower ; then they said : " Now let us go down into the town, for it is ours, and let us take all the goods therein and the rich men of the town, and bring them all into this castle, and then set fire to the town, for it is not to be kept by us ; and within three or four days we shall have rescue out of Scotland, so that we shall save all our pillage ; and at our departing let us set fire to the castle, and so pay our host." To which purpose they all agreed, for they desired all to win some pillage ; and so they took each of them a glaive in their hands (they found enough in the castle), and so opened the gate and let down the bridge ; and when the bridge was down the ropes that held it brake asunder, for the resting-place of the bridge, towards the town, was broken down. And when John Biset saw their manner, he and all his company began to shout, and said : " Ah, sirs, keep you there : you shall not depart thence without our leave." When Alexander Ramsey saw this, he was aware that they knew of his being in the castle, and so closed the gate again, for fear of shot, and fortified the castle, thinking to have kept it, and cast all the dead bodies into the dykes and put their prisoners into a tower. They thought the place was strong enough to keep long or at least till some rescue might come to them out of Scotland, for the barons and knights of Scotland were assembled together at Morlane and thereabout ;

also the earl Douglas had left Dalkeith and come to Dunbar.

28. RECAPTURE OF BERWICK CASTLE BY THE ENGLISH

1378.

Froissart, c. 323.
Circ. 1400.

[Earl Percy heard the news from Biset's messenger, and gathered a force to retake the castle.]

Then tidings came to the barons of Scotland, that the earl, barons, knights and squires of Northumberland had besieged their company in the castle of Berwick ; and so they were all determined to go and raise the siege, and to refresh and victual the castle. And they all said that Alexander Ramsey had attempted a valiant enterprise. And Sir Archibald Douglas, constable of Scotland, said : "Alexander is my cousin ; it is the effect of a noble heart to enterprise such a feat as to take the castle of Berwick, and we ought all greatly to comfort and help him in his deed ; and if we can raise the siege, we shall acquire great renown thereby ; wherefore let us go thither." And there they ordained who should go with him and who should remain. And so he took with him five hundred of the best spearmen in all the host ; and so they rode forth towards Berwick. Tidings came to the English lords at Berwick that the Scots were coming to raise their siege and to revictual the castle. Then they went to council, and so determined to take a position and to await their enemies and to fight with them ; it was all their desire ; and so the lord Percy caused all his

company to be ready armed and apparelled to fight and to make their musters; and so they found themselves to the number of three thousand men of arms and seven thousand archers; and when the earl found that he had so great a number he said: "Let us keep our place; we are strong enough to fight with all the puissance of Scotland." And so they remained in a fine plain without Berwick, in two divisions in good order; and they had not been there the space of an hour, before they saw certain scouts of the Scots, well horsed, riding to reconnoitre the English host. There were certain knights and squires would gladly have ridden to them to have skirmished with them, but the lord Percy would not suffer them, but said: "Let their whole army come, for if they will fight with us they will approach nearer to us." So the Englishmen kept still close together, and the Scots came so near them that they reconnoitred well their two divisions and the number of their people. After this these scouts returned to their masters and told them all they had seen.

[On hearing what the scouts had to say, the Scottish leaders determined that there was nothing to be done but retreat and leave Alexander Ramsey to his fate.]

And when the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Nottingham and the other barons of England perceived that the Scots came not forward, they sent forth their scouts to know where they were, who brought word that they were gone towards Morlanc, beyond the castle of Roxburgh; and then against night the Englishmen retired to their lodgings, and made good watch that night, and in

the morning every man was ready apparelled to go and assail the castle; and so there was a fierce assault, which endured almost all the day. Never did so few men defend a place more valiantly than the Scots did; for the English raised ladders against the walls and mounted them with targets before them and so came and fought with the Scots hand to hand; and some of them were cast down into the dykes. Those who most annoyed the Scots were the archers, who shot so exactly together that they dared scarcely come to the defence of the wall. So long did this assault continue that at last the English entered by force, and there slew as many as they found; not one of all them that were within escaped the slaughter, except Alexander Ramsey, who was taken prisoner. Thus the castle of Berwick was delivered from the Scots, and the earl made John Biset captain there, and he newly repaired the castle and repaired the bridge that was injured.

29. A GRADUATED POLL-TAX LEVIED

1379.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." i. 392.*

1394.

[A still earlier poll-tax had been levied two years previously, just before the late king's death.]

Moreover, by the secret contrivance of certain persons who were ever plotting mischief, a new tax was granted to assist the king; for it was decided to bear lightly on the commonalty, who had been almost ruined by previous taxation. Dukes—

Lancaster and Brittany to wit—were to pay ten marks apiece, and archbishops the same amount; earls six marks, as also bishops and mitred abbots, in spite of the fact that abbots were required to pay forty pence for each of their monks. . . . And besides no justice, sheriff, knight, squire, rector, curate-in-charge or even plain chaplain escaped this tax; but God knoweth whether grasping plunder shall work for good.

[It appears from Rolls of Parliament, iii. 57, that all ranks were included, the last class consisting of all persons above the age of sixteen, from whom a groat was levied.]

30. THE RISING OF THE COMMONS

1381.

Froissart, c. 1381.
Cir. 1400.

In the mean season there fell in England great mischief and rebellion of moving of the common people, by which deed England was at a point to have been lost without recovery. There was never realm nor country in so great adventure as it was in that time, and all because of the ease and riches that the common people were of, which moved them to this rebellion, as sometime they did in France, the which did much hurt, for by such incidents the realm of France hath been greatly grieved.

It was a marvellous thing and of poor foundation that this mischief began in England, and to give ensample to all manner of people I will speak thereof as it was done, as I was informed, and of the incidents thereof. There was an usage in England, and yet is in divers countries, that the noblemen

hath great franchise over the commons and keepeth them in servage, that is to say, their tenants ought by custom to labour the lords' lands, to gather and bring home their corns, and some to thresh and to fan, and by servage to make their hay and to hew their wood and bring it home. All these things they ought to do by servage, and there be more of these people in England than in any other realm. Thus the noblemen and prelates are served by them, and specially in the county of Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Bedford. These unhappy people of these said countries began to stir, because they said they were kept in great servage, and in the beginning of the world, they said, there were no bondmen, wherefore they maintained that none ought to be bond, without he did treason to his lord, as Lucifer did to God ; but they said they had not that nature, for they were neither angels nor spirits, but men formed to the similitude of their lords, saying why should they then be kept so under like beasts ; the which they said they would no longer suffer, for they would be all one, and if they laboured or did anything for their lords, they would have wages therefor as well as other. And of this imagination was a foolish priest in the country of Kent called John Ball, for the which foolish words he had been three times in the bishop of Canterbury's prison ; for this priest used oftentimes on the Sundays after mass, when the people were going out of the minster, to go into the cloister and preach, and made the people to assemble about him, and would say thus : " Ah, ye good people, the matters goeth not well to pass in England, nor shall not do till everything be

common, and that there be no villains nor gentlemen, but that we may be all united together, and that the lords be no greater masters than we be. What have we deserved or why should we be kept thus in servage? We be all come from one father and from one mother, Adam and Eve; whereby can they say or show that they be greater lords than we be, saving by that they cause us to labour for that they spend? They are clothed in velvet and we be vested with poor cloth; they have their wines, spices and good bread, and we have rye and straw and drink water; they dwell in fair houses, and we have the pain and travail, rain and wind in the fields; and by that that cometh of our labours they keep and maintain their estates; we be called their bondmen and without we do readily them service, we be beaten; and we have no sovereign to whom we may complain, nor that will hear us nor do us right. Let us go to the king, he is young, and show him what servage we be in, and show him how we will have it otherwise, or else we will provide us of some remedy, either by fairness or otherwise." Thus John Ball said on Sundays, when the people issued out of the churches in the villages; wherefore many of the mean people loved him, and such as intended to no goodness said how he said truth; and so they would murmur one with another in the fields and in the ways as they went together, affirming how John Ball said truth.

Of his words and deeds there was much people in London informed, such as had great envy at them that were rich and such as were noble; and then they began to speak among them, and said how

the realm of England was right evil governed, and how that gold and silver was taken from them by them that were named noblemen ; so thus these unhappy men of London began to rebel and assembled them together, and sent word to the foresaid countries that they should come to London and bring their people with them, promising them how they should find London open to receive them and the commons of the city to be of the same accord, saying how they would do so much to the king that there should not be one bondman in all England.

This promise moved so them of Kent, of Essex, of Sussex, of Bedford, and of the counties about, that they rose and came towards London to the number of sixty thousand. And they had a captain called Wat Tyler, and with him in company was Jack Straw and John Ball : these three were chief sovereign captains, but the head of all was Wat Tyler, and he was indeed a tiler of houses, an ungracious patron. . . .

This rebellion was well known in the king's court or any of these people began to stir out of their houses ; but the king nor his council did provide no remedy therefor, which was great marvel. And to the intent that all lords and good people, and such as would nothing but good, should take ensample to correct them that be evil and rebellious, I shall show you plainly all the matter as it was.

31. A LABOURER

William Langland, "Piers Plowman," B. vi. 309 (modernised).
1362.

Labourers that have no land to live on, but their hands,

Deign not to dine on food kept overnight.

No penny ale for them, nor a piece of bacon ;

It must be fresh meat, or fish fried or baked,

And that hot and more than hot—lest it chill their maw.

If he be not highly waged he will moan

That he was a workman born ; curse the hour !

Gentle Cato's counsel he begins to rail on :

" *Paupertatis onus patienter ferre memento.*"

And then he curseth the king and all the king's justices

For framing such laws, labourers to grieve.

But while Hunger was here master, he did not chide,
Nor strive against the *Statute* ; he looked so stern.

32. JOHN BALL'S SUMMONS

1381.

Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
" *Hist. Angl.*" ii. 33.

1394.

John Schep, some time Saint Mary's priest of York, and now of Colchester, greeteth well John Nameless and John the Miller and John Carter, and biddeth them that they beware of guile in borough, and stand together in God's name, and biddeth Piers

Plowman go to his work, and chastise well Hob the Robber, and take with you John Trueman and all his fellows and no more; and look sharp you to union and no more.

John the Miller hath yground small, small, small.
 The King's son of heaven shall pay for all.
 Be ware or ye be woe.
 Know your friend from your foe.
 Have enough and say " Ho!"
 And do well and better and flee sin,
 And seek peace and hold therein.
 And so bid John Trueman and all his fellows.

38. THE RISING OF THE COMMONS

*Adapted from "Political Poems," i. 224.
 1382.*

Taxes grind us all,
 The king's share is but slight ;
 Full grievous is our plight--
 Reverence must fall.

Kent this care began,
 In rout the rebels sped--
 For churls were at their head ;
 Fools do dread no man.

Thus their ways they went
 From Kent to London town ;
 Their lords they trampled down ;
 Bad was their intent.

Serfs did make a boast
That freedom they would gain !
Nay ! charters c'en were ta'en ;
Still enslaved the most !

Loud the rabble laughed
The bishop when they slew ;
Fine mansions down they threw—
Working evil craft.

Jack Straw made command
All unto him should bow ;
But sadly at the plough
Now their bodies bend.

Lancaster's fair court,
Savoy, they burnt with fire ;
They did to death in ire
Prisoners they caught.

Our king had no rest,
His liegemen all had fled ;
But to ride was he sped—
True bird of the nest.

Jack Straw he supprest
At Smithfield with high hand ;
Lord, keep him in Thy hand
As Thou knowest best.

34. THE REBELS ENTER LONDON

1381.

Froissart, c. 383.
Circ. 1400.

In the morning of Corpus Christi Day [June 6], king Richard heard mass in the Tower of London, and all his lords, and then he took his barge with the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Oxford and certain knights, and so rowed down along the Thames to Rotherhithe, whereas was descended down the hill a ten thousand men to see the king and to speak with him. And when they saw the king's barge coming, they began to shout, and made such a cry, as though all the devils of hell had been among them. . . . And the king demanded of them what they would, and said how he was come thither to speak with them, and they all said with one voice: "We would that ye should come aland, and then we shall show you what we lack." Then the earl of Salisbury answered for the king and said: "Sirs, ye be not in such order or array that the king ought to speak with you." And so with these words no more said; and then the king was counselled to return again to the Tower of London, and so he did.

. . . Then they cried all with one voice: "Let us go to London," and so they took their way thither; and in their going they beat down abbeys and houses of advocates and men of the court, and so came into the suburbs of London, which were great and fair, and there beat down divers fair houses, and specially they brake up the king's prisons, as the

Marshalsea and other, and delivered out all the prisoners that were therein ; and there they did much hurt, and at the bridge foot they threat them of London because the gates of the bridge were closed, saying how they would burn all the suburbs, and so conquer London by force. There were many within the city of their accord, and so they drew together and said : " Why do we not let these good people into the city ? They are our fellows, and that that they do is for us." So therewith the gates were opened, and then these people entered into the city, and went into houses and sat down to eat and drink. . . . Then they went from street to street, and slew all the Flemings that they could find in church or in any other place ; there was none respited from death. And they brake up divers houses of the Lombards, and robbed them and took their goods at their pleasure, for there was none that durst say them nay.

35. THE KING APPEASES THE BONDSMEN

1381.

Froissart, c. 384.
Circ. 1400.

When the king came to the said place of Mile-end without London, he found there a threescore thousand men of divers villages and of sundry countries in England ; so the king entered in among them, and said to them sweetly : " Ah, ye good people, I am your king : what lack ye ? What will ye say ? " Then such as understood him said : " We will that ye make us free for ever, ourselves,

our heirs and our lands, and that we be called no more bond nor so reputed." "Sirs," said the king, "I am well agreed thereto. Withdraw you home into your own houses, and into such villages as ye came from, and leave behind you of every village two or three, and I shall cause writings to be made, and seal them with my seal, the which they shall have with them, containing everything that ye demand ; and to the intent that ye shall be the better assured, I shall cause my banners to be delivered into every shire and countries."

These words appeased well the common people, such as were simple and good plain men, that were come thither and wist not why. They said, "It was well said ; we desire no better." Thus these people began to be appeased, and began to withdraw them into the city of London. And the king also said a word, the which greatly contented them. He said : "Sirs, among you good men of Kent, ye shall have one of my banners with you, and ye of Essex another, and ye of Sussex, of Bedford, of Cambridge, of Yarmouth, of Stafford, and of Lynn, each of you one ; and also I pardon everything that ye have done hitherto, so that ye follow my banners, and return home to your houses." They all answered how they would so do : thus these people departed, and went into London. . . .

But the great venom remained still behind, for Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball said, for all that these people were thus appeased, yet they would not depart so, and they had of their accord more than thirty thousand.

36. CHARTER GRANTED BY THE KING TO THE PEASANTS

1381.

*Translated from Latin of "Gesta Abbatum,
S. Albani Monasterii," iii. 287.
Cir. 1381.*

Richard by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all his stewards and faithful lieges, to whom these present letters come, greeting!

Know that of our special grace we have set free all together and singly our lieges and subjects, commons and others of the county of Hertford; and we hereby acquit them of all bondage, themselves, and any belonging to them, whomsoever; and we appease by these present letters; and, moreover, we have granted pardon to our same liege-men and subjects for all felonies, disloyalty, wrong-doing, and violence done or wrought by themselves or any belonging to them in any way whatsoever; and also if any sentence of outlawry has been pronounced against them, we hereby grant them our pardon; and we give them and theirs our supreme peace: In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent.

Given, under the king's hand at London, 15th June, in the fourth year of our reign.

37. THE RISING IN EAST ANGLIA

1381.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." ii. 1-8.*

1394.

On the same Saturday, so general was this storm, God sent against Suffolk and Norfolk the dread weight of His displeasure, by means of evil messengers, more dangerous than the Essex rebels, sent to stir up the quiet, innocent folk to disturbances such as we have described, and to turn the hearts of the servants against their masters. And they hastily ranged themselves under the leadership of a rascally priest called John Wraw, who had been in London the day before, and had received his instructions from the scoundrel Wat Tyler, whom we have mentioned before; so they easily got together a mob of more than fifty thousand of the common people. And these too, just like their fellow-rioters of London, rioted wholesale, and destroyed great lawyers' houses and estates, killing the law-clerks. Sir John Cavendish, the king's chief justice, they caught and beheaded, and set his head in the market-place of Bury St. Edmunds in derision. . . .

Afterwards the ringleaders of the villainy with the villainous people push forward to Bury St. Edmunds, and enter the town without opposition. . . . They attacked the gates of the monastery, and demanded the surrender of John de Lakynghythe, threatening to set fire to the monastery if he were not given up; and though he was standing among them not one of them knew him. But they did

all this at the instigation of the villeins who, as will be easily proved from what follows, had secretly bought them over for this purpose, while they themselves kept out of the mob, that in this way indeed they might appear clear of such crimes. And so John, anxious to keep danger from his house, replied that he was whom they sought, and asked why he was wanted by the people. "For death, traitor," they answer, "it is you alone we want; you shall live no longer." "I am ready for death," he replied; "nay, I welcome it, provided only that this monastery suffer no harm on my account." Then he was quickly dragged off by them with great shouts that they had found a false monk, and got the traitor, and publicly executed him in the market-place. . . . Afterwards they called all the monks together, and said that they had now for a long time been tyrannically oppressing their good friends, the citizens of Bury; wherefore they desired them to restore the bonds by which their good friends had been bound to the king and the monastery, if they had happened to make any move at all against the abbey, together with the charters of the town liberties, formerly granted by Cnute, the founder of the monastery, and given by the kings, his successors, to the present time for the establishing of the monastery. Now the monks, afraid for themselves and the house if they did not obey the pleasure of the people, brought out publicly into the market-place all they demanded, swearing that no more deeds could be found in the house of any service to the villeins. But the people were loth to believe them. However, they called the villeins, who made a pretence of sorrow, as though

they were displeased at what had occurred, and advised them to go over carefully the bonds and charters, and if they could not get their ancient liberties from these, say plainly what their former privileges were. . . .

Now that we have partly described the occurrences at Bury St. Edmunds, we may pass over the crimes committed at Cambridge and in the county of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely; for they were much alike, and included murder and destruction just as we found was the case elsewhere. And so we may pass on to what happened in Norfolk. . . .

When the bishop arrived at North Walsham with a fair escort he found that the rustics had entrenched their position like soldiers, and to defend it had fortified it with tables, windows, doors, and stakes. And in the rear he sees their waggons in position, as if they had no intention of flight. Forthwith the martial bishop, determined to offer open battle, stung by the knaves' insolence, orders his bugles and trumpets to sound; he himself, lance in hand, spurs his charger, and rides at them so furiously and boldly as to carry their trench, quicker than his own arrows. Nor was there need for bowmen, since it became a hand-to-hand engagement. . . . The wretched rabble take to flight, and because there was no road on the other side of their baggage-waggons, which we mentioned they had placed in their rear, they strive to cut their way through the woods; but most of the ringleaders were captured, and their leader, John Littestrere, was put to death.

38. THE LEADERS OF THE REVOLT

Translated from Latin of "Political Poems," i. 230.

1381.

Richard had reigned four years, when the country,
alas and alack ! saw

Insolent boors such as these arise with demand for
a charter.

Jack Sheep, Trunk, John Ram, Tom Miller, Tyler,
Jack Straw,

Earl of the Plough, Rakestraw, then Rake-too-dear,
and Hob Carter.

These be the leading wights who once had a hold on
the people ;

Many a fear thence rose, great sorrowing fell on the
nation ;

Now o'er the gates men see their heads set high as a
steeple ;

So may the groundlings learn all that befitteth their
station.

39. DEATH OF WAT TYLER

1381.

Froissart, c. 384.

Cir. 1400.

The same proper morning Wat Tyler, Jack
Straw and John Ball had assembled their company
together in a place called Smithfield, whereas every
Friday there is a market of horses ; and there were
together all of affinity more than twenty thousand,
and yet there were many still in the town, drinking
and making merry in the taverns and paid nothing, for

they were happy that made them best cheer. And these people in Smithfield had with them the king's banners, the which were delivered them the day before, and all these gluttons were in mind to overrun and to rob London the same day; for their captains said how they had done nothing as yet. "Thesc liberties that the king hath given us is to us but a small profit: therefore let us be all of one accord and let us overrun this rich and puissant city."

To this counsel they all agreed; and therewith the king came the same way unaware of them, for he had thought to have passed that way without London, and with him a forty horse. And when he came before the Abbey of St. Bartholomew and beheld all these people, then the king rested and said how he would go no farther till he knew what these people ailed, saying, if they were in any trouble, how he would appease them again. The lords that were with him tarried also, as reason was when they saw the king tarry. And when Wat Tyler saw the king tarry, he said to his people: "Sirs, yonder is the king: I will go and speak with him. Stir not from hence, without I make you a sign; and when I make you that sign, come on and slay all them except the king; but do the king no hurt, he is young, we shall do with him as we list and shall lead him with us all about England, and so shall we be lords of all the realm without doubt." And therewith he spurred his horse and departed from his company and came to the king, so near him that his horse's head touched the croup of the king's horse, and the first word that he said was this:

"Sir, king, seest thou all yonder people?" "Yea truly," said the king, "wherefore sayest thou?" "Because" said he, "they be all at my commandment and have sworn to me faith and truth, to do all that I will have them." "In a good time," said the king, "I will well it be so."

Then Wat Tyler said, as he that nothing demanded but riot: "What believest thou, king, that these people and as many more as be in London at my commandment, that they will depart from thee thus without having thy letters?" "No," said the king, "ye shall have them: they be ordained for you and shall be delivered every one each after other. Wherefore, good fellows, withdraw fair and easily to your people and cause them to depart out of London; for it is our intent that each of you by villages and townships shall have letters patents, as I have promised you."

With these words Wat Tyler cast his eyes on a squire that was there bearing the king's sword, and Wat Tyler hated greatly the same squire, for the same squire had displeased him before for words between them. "What," said Tyler, "art thou there? Give me thy dagger." "Nay," said the squire, "that will I not do: wherefore should I give it thee?" The king beheld the squire and said: "Give it him; let him have it." And so the squire took it him sore against his will. And when this Wat Tyler had it, he began to play therewith and turned it in his hand, and said again to the squire: "Give me also that sword." "Nay," said the squire, "it is the king's sword: thou art not worthy to have it, for thou art but a knave; and if there were no more

here but thou and I, thou durst not speak those words for as much gold in quantity as all yonder abbey." "By my faith," said Wat Tyler, "I shall never eat meat, till I have thy head :" and with those words the mayor of London came to the king with a twelve horses well armed under their coats, and so he brake the press and saw and heard how Wat Tyler demeaned himself, and said to him : " Ha, thou knave, how art thou so hardy in the king's presence to speak such words? It is too much for thee so to do."

Then the king began to chafe and said to the mayor : " Set hands on him." And while the king said so, Tyler said to the mayor : " A God's name what have I said to displease thee? " " Yes truly," quoth the mayor, " thou false stinking knave, shalt thou speak thus in the presence of the king my natural lord ? I commit never to live, without thou shalt dearly abide it." And with these words the mayor drew out his sword and strake Tyler so great a stroke on the head, that he fell down at the feet of his horse, and as soon as he was fallen, they environed him all about, whereby he was not seen of his company. Then a squire of the king's alighted, called John Standish, and he drew out his sword and put it into Wat Tyler's belly, and so he died.

Then the ungracious people there assembled, perceiving their captain slain, began to murmur among themselves and said : " Ah, our captain is slain, let us go and slay them all " : and therewith they arranged themselves on the place in manner of battle, and their bows before them.

Thus the king began a great hardiness ; howbeit,

all turned to the best ; for as soon as Tyler was on the earth, the king departed from all his company and all alone he rode to these people and said to his own men : "Sirs, none of you follow me ; let me alone." And so when he came before these ungracious people, who put themselves in ordinance to revenge their captain, then the king said to them : "Sirs, what aileth you ? Ye shall have no captain but me : I am your king : be all in rest and peace." And so the most part of the people that heard the king speak and saw him among them, were shamefast and began to wax peaceable and to depart ; but some, such as were malicious and evil, would not depart, but made semblant as though they would do somewhat. . . . And in the meantime voice and bruit ran through London how these unhappy people were likely to slay the king and the mayor in Smithfield ; through the which noise all manner of good men of the king's party issued out of their houses and lodgings well armed, and so came all to Smithfield and to the field where the king was, and they were anon to the number of seven or eight thousand men well armed. And first thither came Sir Robert Knolles and Sir Perdicas d'Albret, well accompanied, and divers of the aldermen of London, and with them a six hundred men in harness, and a puissant man of the city, who was the king's draper, called Nicolas Bramber, and he brought with him a great company ; and ever as they came, they ranged them afoot in order of battle ; and on the other part these unhappy people were ready ranged, making semblance to give battle, and they had with them divers of the king's banners. Then the king

made three knights, the one the mayor of London, Sir Nicolas Walworth, Sir John Standish, and Sir Nicolas Bramber. Then these new knights were sent to them, and these knights made token to them not to shoot at them, and when they came so near them that their speech might be heard, they said : "Sirs, the king commandeth you to send to him again his banners, and we think he will have mercy of you." And incontinent they delivered again the banners and sent them to the king. Also they were commanded on pain of their heads, that all such as had letters of the king should bring them forth and send them again to the king ; and so many of them delivered their letters but not all. Then the king made them to be all torn in their presence ; and as soon as the king's banners were delivered again, these unhappy people kept none array, but the most part of them did cast down their bows, and so brake their array and returned into London. Sir Robert Knolles was sore displeased in that he might not go to slay them all : but the king would not consent thereto, but said he would be revenged of them well enough ; and so he was after.

Then there was a cry made in every street in the king's name, that all manner of men, not being of the city of London and not having dwelt there the space of one year, depart ; and if any such be found there the Sunday by the sunrising, that they should be taken as traitors to the king and to lose their heads. This cry thus made, there was none that durst brake it, and so all manner of people departed and scattered abroad, every man to their own places.

John Ball and Jack Straw were found in an old

house, hidden, thinking to have stolen away, but they could not, for they were accused by their own men. Of the taking of them the king and his lords were glad, and, then strake off their heads, and Wat Tyler's also, and they were set on London Bridge, and the valiant men's heads taken down that they had set on the Thursday before. These tidings anon spread abroad, so that the people of the strange countries, which were coming towards London, returned back again to their own houses and durst come no further.

40. SHIPPING ENCOURAGED

1381.

Statutes, ii. 18.

To increase the navy of England which is now greatly diminished, it is assented and accorded :

That none of the king's liege people do from henceforth ship any merchandise in going out or coming within the realm of England, in any port, but only in ships of the king's liegance ; and every person of the said liegance, which after the feast of Easter next ensuing, at which feast this ordinance shall first begin to hold place, do ship and merchandise in any other ships or vessels upon the sea, than of the said liegance, shall forfeit to the king all his merchandises shipped in other vessels, wheresoever they be found hereafter, or the value of the same ; of which forfeitures the king will and granteth that he that duly espieth and duly proveth that any person hath anything forfeited against this ordinance, shall have the third part for his labour, of the king's gift.

41. A SHIPMAN

Chaucer, Prol. "Cant. Tales" (modernised).
1386-88.

A shipman was there, hailing from the west ;
For ought I know, he was of Dartmouth.
A dagger hanging on a lace had he
About his neck, under his arm, adown.
The hot summer had made his hue all brown ;
And certainly he was a good fellow.
Full many a draught of wine had he drawn
From Bordeaux-ward while that the chapman slept.
Of nice conscience no heed he kept.
If that he fought and had the upper hand,
By water he sent them home to every land.
But of his craft to reckon well the tide,
His streams and his dangers him beside,
His harbour and his moon, his lodemenage (pilotage).
There was none such from Hull to Carthage.
Hardy he was and wise to undertake :
With many a tempest had his beard been shaken.
He knew well all the havens as they were,
From Scotland to the cape of Finisterre,
And every creek in Brittany and Spain ;
His barge y-cleped was the Magdalen.

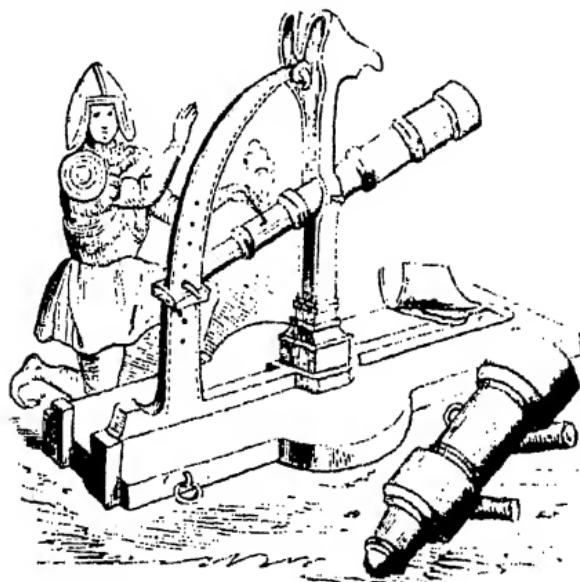
42. THE USE OF CANNON AT OUDENARDE

1382.

*Froissart, c. 404.**Circ. 1400.*

[The men of Ghent under Philip d'Arteveld were besieging Oudenarde with little success.]

. . . Thus they remained the whole summer. It was the intention of Philip and his Council to continue until they should starve them out; for it

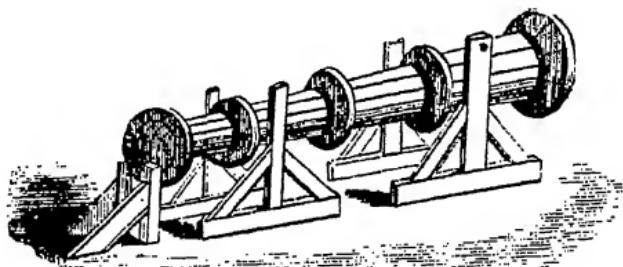


EARLY CANNON OR BOMBARDS.

would cost them too many men were they to attempt to carry it by storm. With much labour they placed on the hill of Oudenarde an amazing great engine, twenty feet wide and forty long, which they called a mutton, to cast heavy stones and beams of timber into the town and crush whatsoever they should light on. They had also, the more to alarm the

garrison, made an amazing large bombard, fifty feet in length, shooting stones of mighty weight. When they fired this bombard it might be heard full five miles off in the daytime and ten in the night. The report of it was so loud that it seemed as if all the devils in hell had broken loose.

The men of Ghent made likewise another engine, which they pointed against the town to cast large bars of hot copper. With such machines as cannons, bombards, sows and muttons did the Ghent army



EARLY CANNON.

labour to annoy the garrison of Oudenarde. They however comforted each other as well as they could, and defended themselves against these attacks.

[A still earlier reference to the use of cannon is found in John Barbour's poem of *The Bruce*, where, in connection with Edward III.'s first campaign in Scotland, 1327, we find :—

Two novelties that day they (the Scots) saw
That hitherto in Scotland had been none.
Crests for helms was the one,
That they thought then of great beauty
And also wonder for to see ;
The other crackers were of war,
That they before had never heard.
Of these two things they had wonder.

Froissart, too, has an earlier mention of them than that quoted above, at the siege of Stirling, 1340 ; and Villani is the authority

for their use at Creçy. Walsingham notes that they were used against the Bishop of Norwich with great effect at the siege of Ypres, 1378 ; he describes them as instruments *quae "gunna" vocantur.*]

43. SPREAD OF THE LOLLAARDS

1382. *Translated from Latin of Henry Knighton, ii. 183.*
Circ. 1395.

There was a great increase in the adherents of this teaching and they multiplied exceedingly as if from seed sown ; and they filled the whole land and they got to be recognised as a matter of course—just as if they dated their existence from one and the same day ; and they became altogether brazen and blushed at nothing, but, as if lost to all shame, yelping both in private and public like dogs unceasingly. . . .

Thus they were popularly called Wyclif's disciples and Wycliffites or Lollards. . . The leaders of these so-called Lollards in the early days of this cursed sect used to wear generally russet-coloured garments, as if for an outward sign of their simplicity of heart, by this means to win over cunningly the minds of those who looked upon them and make a surer approach to the task of teaching and implanting their mad doctrine. . . .

[Here follows a long recital of the mode of making converts, their abuse of opponents, their fostering of domestic strife]. . . .

And so they were everywhere usually called Wyclif's diciples. And they assumed the title not unfittingly ; for just as their master Wyclif was powerful and strong in discussion over opponents

and was considered no man's inferior in argument, so they, however recently they had been won over to the sect, were trained to excessive oratory and to overcome their opponents in all subtlety and wordy warfare ; strong in words ; great in babble ; excellent in disputation ; browbeating all in pettifogging argument. . .

These Wycliffites used to proclaim that their sect was especially praiseworthy, and used to invite all, not only men but women to join it, urging them to reject the teaching and preaching of every one else, and to have nothing to do with the preaching of the mendicant friars, whom they called "false preachers" ; this was their continual fervent preaching not only in private but also in public ; they were always plotting against them, calling them "false friars" ; they kept on crying that they themselves were the true preachers of the Gospel—because they had translated the Gospel into English.

And so by public railing and prejudiced censure they recommended themselves to men, though not to God, and in the eyes of many damaged especially the position of the mendicant friars, for owing to the teaching and preaching of these men the friars were at that time hated by many ; and the Wycliffites becoming bolder on this account strove their hardest to turn the hearts of the people still further from them and to stop them from preaching and begging, declaring excommunicate the givers as well as the receivers—maintaining that they should earn their food and clothing by the work of their hands like the apostle Paul. . . And unless God had quickly cut short the days of their

pride, and dealt such affliction to their growth, I do not think that even the realm of England could suffer their subtlety and wickedness.

44. A PETITION TO PARLIAMENT

1382. *John Wyclif (S.E. IV. iii. 508) (modernised).*
1382.

Please it to our most noble and worthy king Richard, king both of England and of France, and to the noble duke of Lancaster and to other great men of the realm, both to seculars and men of Holy Church, that be gathered in the parliament to hear, assent, and maintain, etc.

The *first* article is this ; that all persons of whatsoever kind of private sect or singular religion, made of sinful men, may freely, without any let or bodily pain, leave that private rule or new religion founded of sinful men, and stably hold the rule of Jesus Christ, taken and given by Christ to his apostles as far more perfect than any such new religion founded of sinful men. . .

The *second* point or article is this ; that the men that unreasonably and wrongfully have damaged the king and all his council, be amended of so great error and that their error may be published to men dwelling in the realm. . . For the chief lordship in this land of all temporalities, both of secular men, and religious, pertaineth to the king of his general governing. For else he were not king of all England, but of a little part thereof. Therefore the men that bethink them to take away his lordship from the

king, as do friars and their abettors, in this point be sharper enemies and traitors than Frenchmen and all other nations. . .

The *third* article is this; that both tithes and offerings be given and paid and received by that intent, to which intent or end God's law and the pope's law ordained them to be paid and received; and that they be taken away by the same intent and reason, that both God's law and the pope's law ordained that they should be withdrawn. . . For by God and his law curates be much more bound to teach their parishioners charitably, the Gospel and God's hests both by open preaching and example of good life, for to save their souls, than their parishioners be bound to pay them tithes and offerings. . .

The *fourth* article is this; that Christ's teaching and belief of the sacrament of his own body, that is plainly taught by Christ and his apostles in Gospels and epistles, may be taught openly in churches to Christian people, and the contrary teaching and false belief, brought up by cursed hypocrites and heretics and worldly priests, ununning in God's law, cease.

45. OPINIONS WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN WYCLIF

According to Walsingham, "Hist. Angl." ii. 53.
1394.

No heresy or error will be able to be proved in the whole teaching of Master John Wyclif.

God must obey the devil.

The pope is more bound to the emperor than the emperor to the pope.

There is no civil lord, no bishop, no prelate, so long as he is in a state of mortal sin.

When human laws are not founded in Holy Writ, subjects are not bound to obedience.

46. A LETTER TO POPE URBAN THE SIXTH

1384. *John Wyclif (S.E. W. iii. 504) (modernised);*
1384.

I have joy fully to tell to all true men the belief that I hold, and by all means to the pope; for I suppose that if my faith is rightful and given of God, the pope will gladly confirm it; and if my faith be error, the pope will wisely amend it.

I suppose over this, that the Gospel of Christ is the heart of the body of God's law; for I believe that Jesus Christ hath given in his own person his Gospel, is very God and very man, and by this heart passes all other laws.

I suppose over this, that the pope be most obliged to the keeping of the Gospel among all men that live here; for the pope is highest vicar that Christ has here in earth. For greatness of Christ's vicar is not measured by worldly greatness but by this, that this vicar rather follows Christ by virtuous living; for thus teaches the Gospel that this is the sentence of Christ.

And of this Gospel I take as belief that Christ, what time he walked here was most poor man of all,

both in spirit and in having ; for Christ says that he had not to rest his head on. And Paul says that he was made needy for our love, and more poor might no man be, neither bodily nor in spirit. And thus Christ put from him all manner of lordly worship. For the Gospel of John telleth that when they would have made Christ king, he fled and hid him from them, for he would none such worldly highness.

And over this I take as belief, that no man should follow the pope, or any saint that now is in heaven, save in as much as he follows Christ. For John and James erred when they coveted worldly highness ; and Peter and Paul sinned also when they denied and blasphemed in Christ ; but men should not follow them in this, for then they went from Jesus Christ. And this I take as wholesome counsel that the pope leave his worldly lordship to worldly lords, as Christ gave them—and move speedily all his clerks to do so. For thus did Christ, and taught thus his disciples, till the fiend had blinded this world. And it seems to some men that clerks that dwell lastingly in this error against God's law, and follow not Christ in this, be open heretics and their abettors be partners.

And if I err in this sentence, I will meekly be amended, yea, by the death, if it be skilful, for that I hope were good to me. And if I might travel in mine own person, I would with good will go to the pope. But God has constrained me to do contrarily and taught me more obedience to God than to man. And I suppose of our pope that he will not be Anti-Christ, and reverse Christ in his working, to the contrary of Christ's will ; for if he summons against

reason, by him or by any of his, and pursue his unskilful summoning, he is an open Anti-Christ. And merciful intent excused not Peter, that Christ called him not Satan ; so blind intent and wicked counsel excuse not the pope here ; but if he ask of true priests that they travl more than they may, he is not excused by reason of God that he is not Anti-Christ. For our belief teaches us that our blessed God suffers us not to be tempted more than we may ; how should a man ask such service ? And therefore pray we to God for our pope Urban the sixth, that his old. holy intent be not quenched by his enemies. And Christ, that may not lie, says that the enemies of a man be specially his homely company ; and this is sooth of men and fiends.

47. THE WORTH OF INDULGENCES

William Langland, "Piers Plowman,"
A. viii. 168-187 (modernised).
1362.

Therefore I counsel you, ye rich men on this earth
Who trust in your treasure trentals to have (*masses*
for the dead)

Be ye never the bolder to break the ten hests ;
And in especial, ye masters and magistrates and
judges,

That have the wealth of this world, and wise men
are held,

To purchase you pardon and the Pope's bulls.

At the dreadful day of doom, when dead men shall
rise

And come all before Christ, accounts to yield,

How we led our life here, and his laws kept,
 And how we did day by day—the doom will be told.
 A pouch-ful of pardons there or provincial letters,
 Though we be found in fraternity of all five orders,
 And have indulgences double-fold,—unless *Good
 Deeds* us help,

I set by pardons not the value of a pea or a pie-crust.

Therefore I counsel all Christians to cry God mercy,
 And Mary his mother be our mediator with him,
 That God give us grace here, ere we go hence,
 Such works to work while we be here
 That after our death-day our *Good Deeds* rehearse
 At the day of doom that *we did as he taught*. Amen.

48. THE MEN OF PORTSMOUTH AND DARTMOUTH SET AN EXAMPLE TO THE FLEET

1385.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
 "Hist. Angl." ii. 127.*

1394.

Meanwhile a fleet is fitted out in all the harbours of England ; large numbers of fighting-men are recruited and admirals are put in command—the Master of the Hospital of S. John and lord Thomas Percy, brother of the earl of Northumberland. And they throughout the summer, purposing to guard the high seas, though often in sight of the French fleet, which now passed close to them and now openly mocked them, agreed upon no action against the Frenchmen—hindered therefrom either by private quarrels or struck by cowardice.

But in no such spirit did the men of Portsmouth and Dartmouth decide to act; for recruited by none, engaged by none to work mischief on the foe, they were urged on by their own valour and fired by inborn honour. Surely without fear from the appearance of a number of ships, without dread of meeting the foe, they crossed the seas with a small fleet, sailed up the Seine, and there, with no great difficulty, sank four of the enemy's ships and captured four others, together with the barge of the lord de Clesson; whose like there was not in the realms of England or of France. And on board these vessels they got wine, iron, and other booty—enough to satisfy the most covetous among them and relieve their wants.

49. THE KING AND MICHAEL DE LA POLE

1386.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." ii. 152.*

1394.

After Parliament had been sitting for so long, in spite of his indignation at the charges brought against Michael de la Pole and the rest of his favourites, the king was compelled, after many subterfuges, to appoint judges with full power to examine and pass sentence upon the said Michael and the others accused by parliament. The judges appointed were Thomas, duke of Gloucester; Richard, earl of Arundel, and others; and they discharged their duty with despatch, while the king went elsewhere, refusing to take any part in the trial. In the

end Michael was found guilty of many crimes and wrong-doings and was sentenced to death, his property being confiscated to the king. However he was reprieved, as he found some wealthy friends to go bail for him in large sums. But as parliament soon rose the king took him back into favour and had him again about his person, together with the duke of Ireland, the archbishop of York, and lord Alexander Neville. And they were trying their hardest at that time to incite the king against the nobles and to annul the acts of the parliament.

50. TROUBLES WITH THE NOBLES

1387.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." ii. 162-169.*

1394.

[The king's favour to De Vere, now duke of Ireland, had produced serious friction with the nobles, whose chief leader at this time was the duke of Gloucester. The king and his favourite, who should have been in Ireland, had returned from Wales and decided to take up arms.]

Now the king and the duke of Ireland sent out emissaries and raised all the troops they could, to stand by them, if need were, against the nobles in the day of battle. But many answered that they neither would nor could stand against the nobles, who, they were assured, were devoted to the king and were by every device and every effort promoting his honour. Many regarded it as a mere matter of service and undertook to be ready on the king's summons. Meanwhile the news came to the ears of the nobles and filled them with great sorrow, that

although conscious of no guilt they had incurred the king's displeasure.

[The duke of Gloucester then tried to appease the king—unsuccessfully.]

Thereupon the duke of Gloucester, considering the way things were going, called a secret meeting of the earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Derby, who would find themselves in a similar position if they did not soon take measures in their own interests ; he lays his plans before them and informs them of the danger they were all running. And they rallied their forces and resolved to call the king to account for past events and for the favour he showed to those who were not so much traitors to himself but to the common weal.

[The king makes counter movements, but his counsels are divided ; at last a meeting is arranged at Westminster. The immediate result was promising in so far as the king seemed to be reconciled to the duke of Gloucester ; but the duke of Ireland again appearing on the scene with an army the lords prepared to oppose him.]

Meanwhile the duke of Ireland arrived in his flight at a river, but he found the bridge, by which he meant to cross, broken down. When he reached another bridge he found bowmen ready to prevent his passage. So, turning aside, he tried to find a ford and made his horse enter the water ; thus he soon arrived at the opposite bank and escaped.

51. THE MERCILESS PARLIAMENT

1388.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." ii. 173.*

1394.

After the feast of the Purification, a parliament was opened at London, albeit the king wished to avoid the said parliament altogether at that time. And the lords came to it with a sufficiently strong force, in order to crush any outbreaks if they should occur ; and this parliament lasted till Whitsuntide, amid general anxiety and expectation [February 3-June 4].

And therein the first to be seized upon was Robert Tressilian, miserably enough for him, for he was soon drawn and hanged at the gallows. Then the lords determined to proceed against Sir Nicolas Brember ; and he met the same fate, albeit he had many to intercede for him. . . .

Subsequently John Salisbury and James Berners, both knights, both young but both traitors, were drawn and hanged. Afterwards Sir John Beauchamp of Holt, the king's High Steward, cunning and crafty of old, a traitor alike to Edward of Windsor and to his son Lionel duke of Clarence, was drawn and hanged by the decree of this same parliament. Subsequently John Blake was hanged, who in a luckless hour had opposed the lords in the Council of Nottingham.

Last of all Simon Burley was beheaded, although the earl of Derby exerted all his power to save him. And for this reason great strife arose between him

and the duke of Gloucester ; but, thanks be to God, it was soon allayed. Now Simon wherever he went was wont to make himself appear not a knight of his own degree, but a duke or prince in every way ; and he was warden of Dover Castle, and at a sign from the king he had agreed to sell it to the French. Moreover there were condemned to exile in this parliament the Justices Robert Bellknap, John Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, and William Burgh ; a certain sum of money was awarded to each for life, for their daily support.

Then the king was made to swear to stand by the lords' ordinances, and not only the king but all inhabitants of the realm had to take the same oath.

52. ON THE TIMES

Adapted from English and Latin interlined song in "Political Poems," i. 270.
1388.

Sing I would, but alas
The days of our fortune are sped ;
England sometime was
Of Europe the crown and the head.

Of manhood the flower
There bloomed and was nowhere surpassed.
Now gone is that honour
As dreams in the sleep that is past.

Broader than God ever made
The tailors do shoulders amend ;

Narrow they be that seem broad—
 'Tis vain for the folk to pretend.

They invent a new passion
 For shoulders afore and behind !
 God's image and fashion
 Is not, if you please, to their mind !

Wide collars and high
 They wear, as inviting a sword ;
 Take heed of the prophecy
 That giveth such folk their reward.

Long spurs on their heels
 They delight in ; and greaves—for they wear
 'em ;
 They think it for weal,
 So it be not the usage of Sarum !

A straight bend hath their hose,
 Close-fitting the limbs is the wear ;
 They may scarce, I suppose,
 Bend the knee without forethought and care !

When other men kneel,
 In prayer to the Christ they adore,
 These stand on their heel ;
 For bending forsooth they abhor.

Lest harm should hap to their hose
 They may not surely bend ;
 I trow for their long toes
 They pray as there they stand.

Many a man they let (hinder)
 And standing thus annoy ;
 But the curse of Christ they get
 If they cease not this employ.

53. THE BATTLE OF OTTERBURN

1388.

Froissart, ii. 138-141.
Circ. 1400.

Thus Sir Henry Percy and his men departed from Newcastle after dinner, and set forth in good order, and took the same way as the Scots had gone and rode to Otterburn, a seven little leagues from thence and fair way, but they could not ride fast because of their footmen. And when the Scots had supped, and some laid down to their rest, and were weary of travailing and assaulting of the castle all that day, and thought to rise early in the morning in cool of the day to give a new assault, therewith suddenly the Englishmen came on them, and entered into the lodgings, weening it had been the master's lodgings, and therein were but varlets and servants. Then the Englishmen cried "Percy, Percy!" and entered into the lodgings, and ye know well where such affray is noise is soon raised ; and it fortuned well for the Scots, for when they saw the Englishmen come to wake them, then the lords sent certain of their servants of footmen to skirmish with the Englishmen at the entry of the lodgings, and in the mean time they armed and apparelled them, every man under his banner, and under his captain's pennon. The night was far on, but the moon shone so bright as if it had been in

a manner day. It was in the month of August, and the weather fair and temperate.

Thus the Scots were drawn together, and without any noise departed from their lodgings, and went about a little mountain, which was greatly for their



A SINGLE COMBAT BETWEEN KNIGHTS IN COMPLETE ARMOUR.

advantage. For all the day before they had well advised the place, and said among themselves: "If the Englishmen come on us suddenly, then we will do thus and thus, for it is a jeopardous thing in the night if men of war enter into our lodgings. If they do, then we will draw to such a place, and

thereby either we shall win or lose." When the Englishmen entered into the field, at the first they soon overcame the varlets, and as they entered further in, always they found new men to busy them, and to skirmish with them. Then suddenly came the Scots from about the mountain, and set on the Englishmen or they were ware, and cried their cries; whereof the Englishmen were sore astonished. Then they cried "Percy!" and the other party cried "Douglas!"

There the Scots showed great hardiness, and fought merrily with great desire of honour: the Englishmen were three to one: howbeit I say not but Englishmen did nobly acquit themselves, for ever the Englishmen had rather been slain or taken in the place than fly. Thus, as I have said, the banners of Douglas and Percy, and their men were met each against other, envious who should win the honour of that journey. At the beginning the Englishmen were so strong that they beat back their enemies: then the Earl Douglas, who was of great heart and high of enterprise, seeing his men fall back, took his axe in both his hands, and entered so into the press that he made himself way in such wise, that none durst approach near him, and he was so well armed that he bare well off such strokes as he received: Thus he went ever forward like a hardy Hector, willing alone to conquer the field, and to discomfit his enemies, but at last he was encountered with three spears all at once; the one strake him on the shoulder, the other on the breast, and the stroke glinted down to his belly, and the third strake him in the thigh, and

sore hurt with all three strokes, so that he was borne perforce to the earth, and after that he could not be again relieved. Some of his knights and squires followed him, but not all, for it was night, and no light but by the shining of the moon.

Of all the battles and encounterings that I have made mention of herebefore in all this history, great or small, this battle that I treat of now was one of the sorest and best foughten without cowardice or faint hearts. For there was neither knight nor squire but that did his devoir, and fought hand to hand. To say truth the Englishmen were sorer travailed than the Scots, for they came the same day from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a six English miles, and went a great pace to the intent to find the Scots, which they did ; so that by their fast going they were near out of breath, and the Scots were fresh and well rested, which greatly availed them when time was of their business : for in the last skirmish they beat back the Englishmen in such wise, that after they could no more assemble together, for the Scots passed through their battles.

. . . This battle was fierce and cruel till it came to the end of the discomfiture ; but when the Scots saw the Englishmen fall back and yield themselves, then the Scots were courteous, and set them to their ransom, and every man said to his prisoner : "Sirs, go and unarm you, and take your ease : I am your master" : and so made their prisoners as good cheer as though they had been brethren, without doing to them any damage. The chase endured a five English miles, and if the Scots had been men enow, there had none escaped, but either they had been taken or slain.

54. OTTERBURN

Old Ballad ("Percy's Reliques").

The Percy and the Douglas met,
 That either of other was fain ;
 They smote together, while that they sweat,
 With swords of fine Collayne ;

Till the blood from their basinets ran,
 As the ruck doth in the rain.

'Yield thee to me,' said the Douglas,
 'Or else thou shalt be slain.

'For I see by thy bright basinet,
 Thou art some man of might ;
 And so I do by thy burnished brand,
 Thou art an earl or else a knight.'

'By my good faith,' said the noble Percy,
 'Now hast thou read full right,
 Yet will I never yield me to thee,
 While I may stand and fight.'

The Percy was a man of strength,
 I tell you in this stand,
 He smote the Douglas at the sword's length,
 That he fell to the ground.

The sword was sharp and sore can bite,
 I tell you in certain ;
 To the heart he could him smite ;
 Thus was the Douglas slain.

The standers stood still on each side,
 With many a grievous groan ;
 There they fought the day, and all the night,
 And many a doughty man was slain.

There was slain upon the Scottish side,
 For sooth as I you say ;
 Of four and forty thousand Scots
 Went but eighteen away.

There was slain upon the English part
 For sooth as I you say ;
 Of nine thousand Englishmen
 Five hundred came away.

The others were slain in the field,
 Christ keep their souls from woe !
 Seeing there were so few friends
 Against so many many a foe.

This fray began at Otterborne
 Between the night and the day ,
 There the Douglas lost his life,
 And the Percy was led away.

Now let us all for the Percy pray
 To Jesu most of might,
 To bring his soul to the bliss of heaven
 For he was a gentle knight.

55. DISTICHI ON THE KING

*Translated from Latin of "Political Poems," i. 272.
1391.*

King, if king, be king of thyself! lest a kingdomless
king thou
Have but a name and thy kingdom be nought,
unless thou be kingly.

56. THE KING IN IRELAND

1395.

*Froissart, ii. cc. 197, 198.
Cir. 1400.*

And the same Sunday I fell in acquaintance with a squire of England called Henry Christead, an honest man and a wise and could well speak French. He companied with me, because he saw the king and other lords made me good cheer, and also he had seen the book which I gave to the king; also Sir Richard Sturry had showed him how I was a maker of histories. Then he said to me as hereafter followeth:

"Sir John," quoth he, "have ye not found in the king's court sith ye came hither no man that hath told you of the voyage that the king made but late into Ireland, and in what manner the four kings of Ireland are come into the obeisance of the king of England?" And I answered "No."

"Then shall I shew you," quoth the squire, "to the intent that ye may put it in perpetual memory, when ye return into your own country and have

leisure thereto." I was rejoiced of his words and thanked him ; then he begun thus and said :—

" Sir John, it is not in memory that either any king of England made such apparel and provision for any journey to make war against the Irishmen, nor such a number of men of arms nor archers. The king was nine months in the marches of Ireland to his great cost and charge to the realm, for they bare all his expenses ; and the merchants, cities and good towns of the realm thought it well bestowed, when they saw the king return home again with honour. The number that he had thither, gentlemen and archers, were four thousand knights and thirty thousand archers, well paid weekly, that every man was well pleased. But I shew you, because ye should know the truth, Ireland is one of the evil countries of the world to make war upon or to bring under subjection, for it is closed strongly and widely with high forests and great waters and marshes and places uninhabitable ; it is hard to enter to do them of the country any damage, nor ye shall find no town nor person to speak withal ; for the men draw to the woods and dwell in caves and small cottages under trees and among bushes and hedges like wild savage beasts, and when they know that any man maketh war against them and is entered into their countries, then they draw together to the straits and passages and defend them, so that no man can enter into them, and when they see their time, they will soon take their advantage on their enemies, for they know the country and are light people : for a man of arms being never so well horsed and run as fast as he can, the Irishmen will run afoot as fast as he

and overtake him, yea, and leap up upon his horse behind him and draw him from his horse; for they are strong men in the arms and have sharp weapons with large blades with two edges after the manner of dart heads, wherewith they will slay their enemy. . . . They be hard people and of rude nature and wit and of divers frequentations and usage; they set nothing by jollity nor fresh apparel, nor by nobleness; for though their realm be sovereignly governed by kings, whereof they have plenty; yet they will take no knowledge of gentleness, but will continue in their rudeness, according as they are brought up. Truth it is that four of the principal kings and most puissant after the manner of the country are come to the obeisance of the king of England by love and fairness, and not by battle nor constraint. The earl of Ormond, who marched upon them, hath taken great pain and hath so treated with them that they came to Dublin to the king and submitted them to him, to be under the obeisance of the crown of England; wherefore the king and all the realm reputeth this for a great and honourable deed and thinketh this voyage well bestowed, for king Edward of good memory did never so much upon them as king Richard did in this voyage: the honour is great, but the profit is but little, for though they be kings, yet no man can devise nor speak of ruder personages”

57. THE KING ATTACKS THE LORDS APPELLANT

1397.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." ii. 223.
Circ. 1419.*

Now when it seemed likely that the realm of England would rejoice in the blessings of peace, on account of the king's recent marriage and the truce that had been made for thirty years, suddenly everything is upset by the king's craftiness ; for he seizes without warning his uncle the duke of Gloucester, who had no such apprehension, and had him taken across to Calais to be kept in custody. Also he had the earl of Warwick arrested on the very day he had invited him to a banquet, albeit he had appeared very cordial to him the same day and had promised to act like a good prince to him and be very friendly. The earl of Arundel who was cozened by his smooth words, and was powerful enough to have saved himself and to have freed his friends of Gloucester and Warwick, peaceably surrendered and was sent to the Isle of Wight to be kept in custody in like manner.

And in order that there should be no popular outbreak for the seizure of these nobles, as he greatly feared, he had it proclaimed throughout the realm that it was not done for some former wrong-doing, but for new treason to the king, to be divulged in the forth-coming parliament. But this proclamation was not genuine, as was proved by the sequel.

58. THE PARLIAMENT OF SHREWSBURY

1398. *Translated from Latin of Walsingham,*
“Hist. Angl.” ii. 226.
Circ. 1419.

In the year 1398 in the parliament of Shrewsbury the king craftily secured and had allowed, by the consent of all estates of the realm, that the power of parliament should be vested in certain persons, seven or eight in number, whose right it should be to decide, after the dissolution of parliament, on certain petitions that had been made in the same parliament but had not been thoroughly examined. And under colour of this permission the persons thus nominated proceeded thereafter to other matters generally affecting that parliament: and that too with the express consent of the king, greatly to the detriment of the prestige of parliament and to the mischief of the whole realm and to the setting of a most disastrous precedent. Now in order to secure abiding force for the decrees and judgments passed in this parliament the king obtained papal bulls, wherein severe pains were levelled against whosoever should presume in any way to infringe the said statutes; and these bulls he had published in London at St. Paul's Cross and in the other most important places of the realm.

59. A COMPLIANT PARLIAMENT

1398 (?)

William Langland (?) "Richard the Redless" (modernised).

1399.

And when the riot and the revel their income had spent,

And nothing was left but the bare bags,
Then fell it perforce to fill them again.

So they feigned them some folly—that failed them never—

And worked it by guile with their council
To have privy parliament for their own profit.
And they had writs sent, all in wax closed,
For peers and prelates, that they appear should,
And sent out messages to the sheriffs all,
To choose such knights as would accept the charge
To represent the shire, in company with the great.
And when it drew to the day of the deed-doing,
When the lords were all assembled and the shire-knights,

Then as their form is, first they began to declare
The cause of their coming, and then the king's will.
Came a clerk then and began the speeches,
And pronounced the points apart to them all,
And moved for money, more than for aught else.
And when the tale was told anon to the end,
To-morrow they must before meat meet together
The knights of the Commons, and talk over affairs
With citizens of shires sent for the same,
To rehearse the articles and grant all their asking.
But yet for the manner to make men blind,

Some argued against the taxes a good while.
 Then sat some as ciphers in arithmetic,
 That note a place, but naught of themselves avail ;
 And some had supped with Simon (the clergy) over-night,
 And shewed for the shire, and here shew lost ;
 And some were tattlers, and to the king went,
 And told him of his foes, that were good friends,
 And spoke for the best, and deserved no blame
 Of king or council, or of the Commons either.
 And some slumber'd and slept, and said but a little ;
 And some mumbled with the mouth, and knew not
 what they meant ;
 And some were bribed, and held therewith ever,
 And would no further forward for fear of their masters.
 Some held with the majority howe'er it went ;
 Some dreaded dukes and did *Good Deeds* forsake.

60. THE QUARREL BETWEEN HEREFORD AND NORFOLK

1398.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
 "Hist. Angl." ii. 227.
 Cir. 1419.*

About this time the duke of Hereford laid an appeal against the duke of Norfolk on some words used by him redounding to the king's dishonour. Accordingly a tournament was appointed at Coventry. But when at last they had entered the lists in high fettle and array the king took the matter into his own hands, and had it proclaimed that the duke of Hereford had honourably fulfilled his duty. But, however, almost immediately afterwards, with abso-

lutely no legitimate reason, the king banished the duke of Hereford for ten years, thereby passing a sentence opposed alike to justice, chivalry, and the customs of this realm. The duke of Norfolk also he condemned to exile for life, sternly enjoining, under the direst penalties, that no one should ask, or dare to intercede with the king, for pardon for the dukes. This took place on the anniversary of the day on which the duke of Norfolk had caused the duke of Gloucester to be suffocated.

61. THE BANISHMENT OF HEREFORD AND NORFOLK

Shakespeare, "Rich. II." i. 3.
1593-4.

King Richard.

Draw near,
And list, what with our council we have done.
For that our kingdom's earth should not be soiled
With that dear blood which it hath fostered ;
And for our eyes do hate the dire aspect
Of civil wounds plough'd up with neighbours' sword ;
Therefore, we banish you our territories :
You, cousin Hereford, upon pain of life,
Till twice five summers have enrich'd our fields,
Shall not regret our fair dominions,
But tread the stranger paths of banishment.
Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier doom,
Which I with some unwillingness pronounce :
The sly slow hours shall not determinate
The dateless limit of thy dear exile ;
The hopeless word of "never to return"
Breathe I against thee upon pain of life. .

62. THE KING ABSOLUTE

1399.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
"Hist. Angl." ii. 231.
Cir. 1419.*

In his desire, as is alleged, to harass and crush the people of his realm, he sent letters patent to all the counties of the realm, and by threats compelled all his lieges—temporal as well as spiritual—to take uncustomary oaths of such a nature as probably to bring about the final ruin of his people, and he made his lieges confirm these oaths under their hand and seal. He compelled too his lieges to put their seals to blank paper, so that, as often as he wished to grow rich at their expense, he had the means of crushing them individually or together.

Moreover, he forced the sheriffs throughout the realm to take new oaths beyond those in use, namely, to the effect that they would obey all royal commands directed to them under the Great and Privy Seals, and even those under his own signet. And if the said sheriffs should get to know that any of his stewards, of any rank whatever, were giving utterance in public or private to any libel likely to make for the dishonour or discredit of the royal person, they were to imprison them till they received other commands from the king.

63. HENRY OF HEREFORD AND HIS INHERITANCE

Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
1399. "Hist. Angl." ii. 230.
Circ. 1419.

Now after the duke of Lancaster's death the king passed a sentence of exile for life against Henry, the duke's son, whom he had banished for ten years. At the same time he recalled the permission, previously granted, to the effect that during his exile his representatives might act in the matter of any inheritances or legacies falling due to him, and that his oath of fealty should be considered as taken. And by this action it was made abundantly clear that the king had no real affection for Hereford, and that his reason for banishing him had not been from fear that strife might have arisen between his followers and those of the duke of Norfolk, as had been alleged, but he was influenced, according to the general opinion, by the opportunity of seizing the estates belonging to the dukes.

64. HENRY OF HEREFORD'S RETURN

Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
1399. "Hist. Angl." ii. 232.
Circ. 1419.

Meanwhile Henry, formerly duke of Hereford but now of Lancaster, as his father's successor, was chafing at his banishment and still more at his exile and disinheritance; wherefore bethinking him of the king's present injustice to all his subjects, for the

reasons already stated, he seized the opportunity of the king's absence and decided to return to England to claim his inheritance. Accordingly he put to sea with but few attendants, seeing that he had with him, to use the ordinary expression, not more than fifteen lances, although he might have had a much more numerous force ; such was his confidence in the justice of his claim and in the popular support. About the feast of the translation of S. Martin [July 4] he landed without opposition near a place where formerly stood the town of Ravenspur. Here he was met by the earl of Northumberland, lord Henry Percy and his son Henry, the earl of Westmoreland, lord Ralph Neville and others, who were alarmed at the king's tyrannical government. In a short time their army amounted to nearly 60,000 men ; all were unanimously agreed first to pursue the king's evil counsellors. They marched in haste to Bristol and besieged the castle, which offered resistance.

But when the king landed in England after crossing from Ireland and heard of the duke's arrival, he gave up all idea of fighting, for he knew full well that the people in arms against him would rather die than yield, as much out of hatred to him as fear for themselves. He therefore dismissed his followers and bade them, through his High Steward, lord Thomas Percy, hold themselves in readiness for more favourable times. The king himself, to gain time, ranged up and down the country for many days, always hotly pursued by the duke and his army. At last he halted at Conway Castle and asked for an interview with lord Thomas Arundel,

whom he had put out of the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the earl of Northumberland ; for now all hope of further flight was over. And he gave them to understand that he was willing to abdicate, if security were given of honourable retirement for himself and personal safety for eight persons whom he should name. When these terms were granted and ratified he came to Flint Castle ; and after a short interview there with the duke of Lancaster, they arrived that night by hard riding at the castle of Chester, attended by a large army which had followed the duke.

65. KING RICHARD RESIGNS THE CROWN

1399.

Froissart, ii. cc. 242-244.
Circ. 1400.

Then the duke of Lancaster and his council took advice what should be done with king Richard, being in the Tower of London, whereas king John of France was kept, while king Edward went into the realm of France. Then it was thought that king Richard should be put from all his royalty and joy that he had lived in ; . . . then they regarded what case the realm stood in and did put up all his deeds in articles to the number of twenty-eight. Then the duke of Lancaster and his council went to the Tower of London and entered into the chamber where king Richard was, and without any reverence making to him, there was openly read all the said articles ; to the which the king made none answer, for he saw well all was true that was laid to his charge, saving he said : "All that I have done

passed by my council." Then he was demanded what they were that had given counsel and by whom he was most ruled. He named them, in trust thereby to have delivered himself in accusing of them, as he had done beforetime, trusting thereby to escape and to bring them in the danger and pain ; but that was not the mind of them that loved him not. So at that time they spake no more, but departed ; and the duke of Lancaster went to his lodging and suffered the mayor and the men of law to proceed. They went to the Guildhall, where all the matters of the city were determined, and then much people assembled there. When they saw the governor of the city go thither, they thought some justice should be done, as there was indeed : I shall shew you how.

First the articles that were made against the king, the which had been read before him in the Tower, were read again there openly : and it was shewn by him that read them, how the king himself denied none of them, but confessed that he did them by the counsel of four knights of his chamber, and how by their counsel he had put to death the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel, Sir Thomas Corbet, and others, and how they had long incited the king to do those deeds ; which deeds, they said, were not to be forgiven, but demanded punishment, for by them and their counsel the justice of right was closed up through all the courts of England, whereby many evil deeds followed, and companies and routs of thieves and murderers rose and assembled together in divers parts of the realm, and robbed merchants by the ways and poor men in

their houses; by which means the realm was in great peril to have been lost without recovery; and it is to be imagined that finally they would have rendered Calais or Guines or both into the Frenchmen's hands. These words thus shewn to the people made many to be abashed, and many began to murmur and said, "These causes demand punishment, that all others may take example thereby, and Richard of Bordeaux be deposed, for he is not worthy to wear a crown, but ought to be deprived from all honour and to be kept all his life in prison with bread and water."

. . . It was shewed the duke of Lancaster how Richard of Bordeaux desired to speak with him. The duke in an evening took a barge and went to the Tower by water, and went to the king, who received him courteously and humbled himself greatly, as he that saw himself in great danger, and said: "Cousin of Lancaster, regard and consider mine estate, which is now but small, I thank God thereof. As any more to reign or to govern people or to bear a crown, I think it not; and as God help me, I would I were dead by a natural death, and that the French king had again his daughter. We have had as yet no great joy together; nor since I brought her into England, I could never have the love of my people as I had before. Cousin, all things considered, I know well I have greatly trespassed against you and against other noblemen of my blood; by divers things I perceive I shall never have pardon nor come to peace. Wherefore with mine own free and liberal will I will resign to you the heritage of the crown of England, and I require you take the gift thereof with the resignation."

When the duke heard that, he said : "Sir, it is convenient that part of the three estates of the realm be called to these words, and I have sent already for some noblemen, prelates, and councillors of the good towns of England, and I trust they will be here within this three days, sufficient of them for you to make a due resignation before them, and by this means ye shall greatly appease many men within the realm."

And on a day the duke of Lancaster, accompanied with lords, dukes, prelates, earls, barons, and knights, and of the notablest men of London and of other good towns, rode to the Tower and there alighted. Then king Richard was brought into the hall, apparelled like a king in his robes of state, his sceptre in his hand and his crown on his head. Then he stood up alone, not holden nor stayed by any man, and said aloud : "I have been king of England, duke of Aquitaine, and lord of Ireland about twenty-two years, which seignory, royalty, sceptre, crown, and heritage I clearly resign here to my cousin Henry of Lancaster ; and I desire him here in this open presence, in entering of the same possession, to take this sceptre." And so he delivered it to the duke, who took it. Then king Richard took the crown from his head with both his hands and set it before him and said : "Fair cousin, Henry duke of Lancaster, I give and deliver you this crown, wherewith I was crowned king of England, and therewith all the right thereto depending."

66. THE DEPOSITION OF KING RICHARD II.

Shakespeare, "Rich. II." iv. 1.
1593-4.

K. Rich. With mine own hands I give away my crown,

With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,
With mine own breath release all duty's rites :
All pomp and majesty I do forswear ;
My manors, rents, revenues I forego ;
My acts, decrees, and statutes I deny ;
God pardon all oaths that are broke to me !
God keep all vows unbroke that swear to thee !
Make me, that nothing have, with nothing grieved,
And thou with all pleased, that hast all achieved !
Long mayst thou live in Richard's seat to sit,
And soon lie Richard in an earthly pit !
God save King Harry, unking'd Richard says,
And send him many years of sunshine days !
What more remains ?

North (offering a paper). No more, but that you read

These accusations and these grievous crimes
Committed by your person and your followers
Against the state and profit of this land ;
That, by confessing them, the souls of men
May deem that you are worthily deposed.

K. Rich. Must I do so ? And must I ravel out
My weaved-up folly ? Gentle Northumberland,
If thy offences were upon record,
Would it not shame thee in so fair a troop
To read a lecture of them ? If thou would'st,

There should'st thou find one heinous article,
 Containing the deposing of a king
 And cracking the strong warrant of an oath.

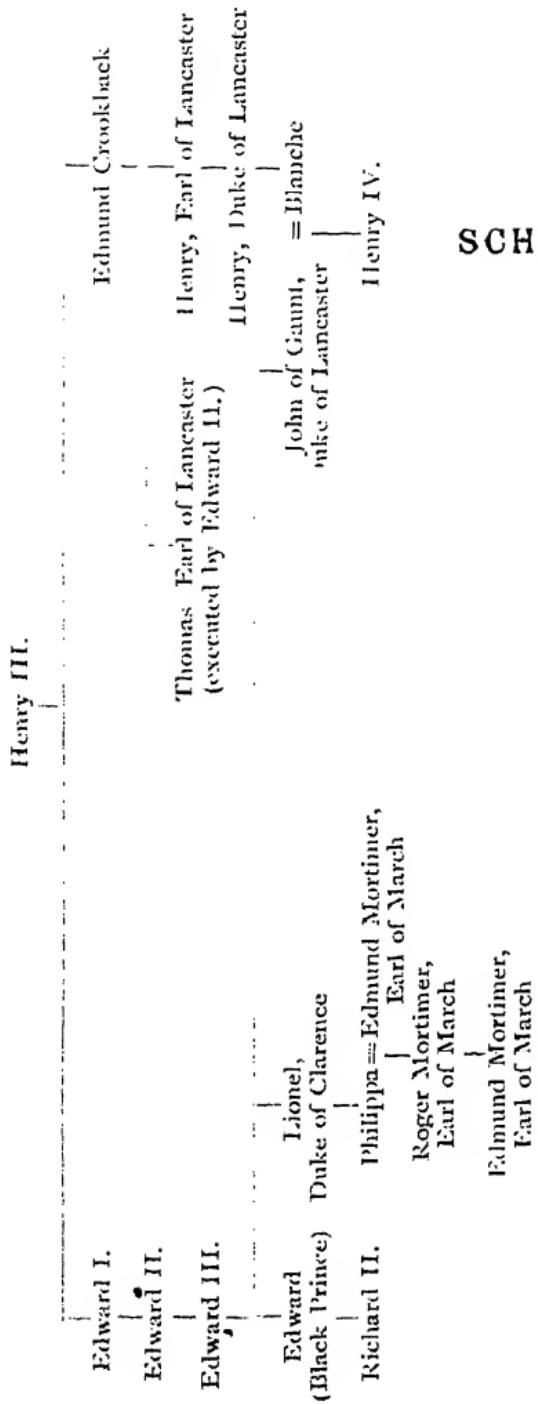
67. HENRY OF LANCASTER CLAIMS THE THRONE

1399.

*Translated from Latin of Walsingham,
 "Hist. Angl." ii. 237.
 Cir. 1419.*

And forthwith Henry duke of Lancaster rose in his old place and standing at his full height, so that he could be seen by the people, and fortifying himself with the sign of the Cross on the face and on the breast, in the name of Christ laid claim in his mother tongue to the throne of England thus vacant, together with the crown and all parts and appurtenances thereof, in the form here following. "In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry of Lancaster, do claim this realm together with the crown and all parts appertaining thereto, as through blood royal, being descended from King Henry, and through the right that God granted me of his favour, to recover the said realm with the help of my kinsmen and friends; which realm was on the point of ruin on account of lack of good governance and violation of the laws." And after this claim, the lords, spiritual and temporal alike, and all the estates of the realm agreed unanimously that the said duke should rule over them.

68. GENEALOGICAL TABLE SHOWING HENRY IV'S CLAIM TO THE THRONE



SCHOOL TEXT-1

REVIEW OF AUTHORITIES

A short review of the authorities used in the compilation of this book is here subjoined. The references in the text refer to the editions here mentioned.

1. The first place is of course taken by *Froissart*. It is hardly necessary here to decide how far our author is indebted to him whom he delights to call his master, Jehan le Bel, canon of Liège. Suffice it that of all chroniclers *Froissart* is the most delightful and the most readable. It was impossible that treating of such a mass of detail in such an age he should be invariably correct. But on the other hand we shall not be far wrong in maintaining that his general accuracy is remarkable, and his good-faith unimpeachable.

Sir John *Froissart* was born at Valenciennes about 1337 and died about 1410. His chief interest in England lay in the fact that he was in the service of his country-woman, Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III. The queen died 1369, and *Froissart* spent the rest of his life on the Continent, chiefly in France. About 1376 he re-wrote the earlier portion of his chronicles. The references in this volume are to the first edition.

The translation here used is that of Lord Berners, who was governor of Calais about the year 1530.

2. The *Historia Anglicana* of Thomas Walsingham is a work of the highest authority, and may safely be considered as a very intelligent and fair account of the events described. Its author, who writes in Latin, was a member of S. Alban's monastery, and speaks as a contemporary of the

earlier part, at least, of Richard's reign. The *Historia Anglicana* has been edited by Mr. H. T. Riley in the Rolls Series.

Henry Knighton, canon of Leicester, wrote a Chronicle extending from 959 to 1366—in which year Knighton died. The Chronicle, with its continuation [1377–95], appears in the Rolls Series.

[“The continuator was a partisan of the duke of Lancaster, but a bitter opponent of the Wycliffites. He gives some valuable details regarding the rising of 1381, and concerning the social condition of England.”—*Gross.*]

Other works from which extracts have been taken are the *Gesta Abbatum* of St. Alban's, assigned, in part at least, to Thos. Walsingham; the *Chronicon Angliae*, coming from the same monastery, which appear in the Rolls Series; Rymer's *Foedera*, an invaluable collection of documents arranged by Thomas Rymer and dedicated to Queen Anne; *Statutes of the Realm*; and lastly the most interesting volume of *Political Poems* edited by Mr. Wright in the Rolls Series. It should be mentioned that the present editor has allowed himself considerable license in the translation and general treatment of some of the “*Poems.*”

The extracts from Wyclif's writings are taken from *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, edited by T. Arnold. Clarendon Press.

In addition to the foregoing, the following, from which there are no extracts in the present edition, will be found of considerable use and interest for further reference:—

1. *Eulogium Historiarum*, a Malmesbury compilation originally finishing at 1366, but continued to

1413. The latter half of the fourteenth century is the work of contemporary writers.

2. The *Chronicon of Adam of Usk* is of special value for the last two years of the reign of Richard II. Its author was on the commission for the king's deposition. It has been edited by Sir E. M. Thompson for the Royal Society of Literature.
3. *Historia vitae et regni Richardi II.* [1377-1402], a monacho quodam de Evesham consignata. Ed. Hearne, 1729. It was probably written in the first half of the fifteenth century. Its tone is hostile to Richard.
4. *Cronique de la traïson et mort de Richart deux, Roy Dngleterre* [1397-1400]. Ed. with a translation by Benjamin Williams. Eng. Hist. Soc. The author, a Frenchman, sympathises with Richard.

“It may have been in part derived from Creton's poem.”—*Gross*.

5. *Jean Creton* is the author of a metrical history on Richard II., which has been translated by Webb and published in *Archæologia*, xx. 1-423. It has been recently reprinted. Creton sympathises with Richard.

“Creton was an eye-witness of many of the events which he narrates, and his poem (seemingly written in 1401) is the chief authority for the last few months of Richard's reign.”—*Gross*.

6. *Fasciculi Zisaniorum*, a contemporary account of the rise of the Lollards, consisting of documents connected by a narrative—compiled in the last instance by Thomas Netter, a distinguished Carmelite. Rolls Series.

7. *Munimenta Guildhallae Londiniensis*, Rolls Series, is of use from the industrial and commercial point of view.
8. *Munimenta Academica*, Rolls Series, gives an account of life and studies in the University of Oxford during the period.

SOME USEFUL MODERN BOOKS

I. General

Green, J. R.—A Short History of the English People (illustrated). 3 vols. Macmillan.

Hallam, Henry.—Middle Ages. 3 vols. Murray.

Stubbs, William.—Constitutional History of England. 3 vols. Clarendon Press.

II. Books on the Period 1360-1399

Pearson, C. H.—English History in the Fourteenth Century. Rivingtons.

Powell, Edgar.—The Rising in East Anglia in 1381. Longmans.

Trevelyan, G. M.—England in the Age of Wycliffe. Longmans.

“Deals mainly with the early part of Richard II.’s reign, especially with the rise of Lollardy and the peasants’ revolt. Valuable.”—*Gross*.

Trevelyan, G. M., and Powell, Edgar.—The Peasants’ Rising and the Lollards [1381-1398]: a collection of documents forming an appendix to “England in the Age of Wycliffe.” Longmans.

Wallon, Henri. Richard II. 2 vols.

“The fullest modern history of the reign. Devotes particular attention to the foreign relations of England.”—*Gross*.

III. *Books dealing with Special Aspects*(i.) *Army and Navy*—

George, H. B.—Battles of English History.
Clarendon Press.

“The best work on this subject.”—*Gross*.

Nicolas, N. H.—A History of the Royal Navy. Out of print.

“The best history of the navy.”—*Gross*.

Oman, C.—The Art of War, vol. ii. Unwin.

(ii.) *Church*—

Jessopp, Augustus.—The Coming of the Friars, and other Studies. Unwin.

A collection of essays dealing with monastic, village, and university life.

Jessopp, Augustus.—Studies by a Recluse. Unwin.

Chs. i.-iii. deal with the monasteries of St. Albans, Bury St. Edmunds, and Pentney.

Hill, O'Dell T.—English Monasticism: its Rise and Influence. Hodder.

“Deals especially with the influence of the Benedictines and Franciscans upon art, literature, and social life.”—*Gross*.

Lechler, G. V.—John Wyclif and his English Precursors. 2 vols. R.T.S.

“By far the best biography of Wyclif.”—*Gross*.

Milman, H. H.—History of Latin Christianity (bk. xi.). 9 vols. Murray.

Moberly, G. H.—Life of William of Wykeham. Warren, Winchester.

“Valuable.”—*Gross.*

Pool, R. L.—Wycliffe and Movements for Reform. Longman.

Stephens, W. R. W., and *Hunt, William* (editors).—A History of the English Church. Macmillan.

The fourteenth century is to be dealt with in vol. iii. (W. W. Capes).

“When completed this series will probably give the best general survey of the history of the English Church.”—*Gross.*

Wakeman, H. O.—An Introduction to the History of the Church of England. Rivington.

“A good brief account.”—*Gross.*

(iii.) *Commerce and Industry*—

Ashley, W. J.—An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory. 2 vols. Longmans.

“Vol. i. deals with the manor, gilds, and economic legislation; vol. ii. with the towns, the crafts, the woollen industry, the agrarian revolution, the relief of the poor, and the canonist doctrine.”—*Gross.*

Cunningham, William.—The Growth of English Industry and Commerce (vol. i.) 2 vols. Cambridge Press.

— Alien Immigrants in England. *Sonnenschein.*

“Valuable.”—*Gross.*

Cunningham, William. — The Commercial Policy of Edward III. Royal Hist. Soc. Trans. iv. 197-220.

Rogers, J. E. T. — A History of Agriculture and Prices in England (vols. i. and ii.). 6 vols. Clar. Press.

——— Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labour. 2 vols. Sonnenschein.

(iv.) *Social* — .

Jessopp, Augustus. — Studies by a Recluse. Unwin.

A collection of essays on various aspects of medieval social life.

Jusserand, J. J. — English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages. Unwin.

Traill, H. D. (editor). Social England: A Record of the Progress of the People in Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Science, Literature, and Manners. By various writers. 6 vols. Cassell.

“The best general work; there is a bibliography at the end of each chapter.” — *Graves.*

The period 1360-1399 is dealt with in vol. ii.

IV. *Bibliographies.*

[As the above works are necessarily but a few from a great mass of authorities, a short list of bibliographies is here given. That by Dr. Charles Gross must long remain the standard English work.]

Gairdner, James.—Early Chroniclers of Europe. England. S.P.C.K.

A work in three volumes—England, France, and Italy.

“A good popular account of the chroniclers, to the latter part of the sixteenth century.”—*Gross.*

Gardiner, S. R., and Mullinger, J. B.—Introduction to the Study of English History. Kegan Paul.

Part i. is taken up with a general sketch of English by S. R. Gardiner; Part ii., by J. B. Mullinger, has a short critical account of the chief sources.

Gross, Charles.—The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485. Longmans.

A great work, entirely superseding all other bibliographies of the sources of English history.

Sonnenschein, W. S.—Bibliography of History. Sonnenschein.

DATE SUMMARY

[*Figures in heavier type refer to number of extract.*]

(1) ANTI-PAPAL LEGISLATION

1361. Wyclif appointed rector of Fillingham.
 A recurrence of the Black Death.

1362. English ordered to be used in courts of Law, to mark the king's jubilee (1). The king is forbidden to tax wool (a principal source of his revenue) without the assent of Parliament.

1365. All appeals to foreign (*i.e.* papal) courts are declared illegal. This was intended to put a stop to the "Rome-runners" who appealed to the pope against judgments in the king's courts. Wyclif appointed king's chaplain.

1366. Wyclif called upon by Parliament to show cause against paying tribute to Rome; tribute refused; as a matter of fact it had been tacitly ignored since the beginning of the reign.
 William Wykeham appointed Bishop of Winchester.

(2) RENEWAL OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

1367. The Black Prince's Spanish Expedition in aid of Don Pedro leads to a rupture with France, which had espoused the cause of Henry (4-7).
 Statute of Kilkenny; Lionel of Clarence (second son of Edward III.) had been sent in 1361 to govern Ireland, but finding it impossible to assert his authority over the whole country, he establishes by this statute an English *pale* of influence.
 Wykeham, Chancellor of England.

1369. Portsmouth burnt by the French. The Black Prince summoned to Paris to answer charges of extortion in Gascony, on the plea that he is vassal to the French king—in spite of the treaty of Brétigny (7).

1370. The Black Prince sacks Limoges (8).

1371. The earl of Pembroke meets with reverses in France and Spain.

New measures against the king's arbitrary taxation by further restrictions on wool subsidies.

1373. Protest against papal provisions.

1374. English position in France becomes hopeless—little being left to them besides Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne (9). Pope Gregory XI. brings about peace.

(3) ATTEMPTS AT REFORM IN THE GOVERNMENT

1375. Government entirely in the hands of John of Gaunt.

1376. Good Parliament meets (10); overthrow of Gaunt; impeachment of Latimer, Lyons, and others of the king's advisers: the reformers supported by the Black Prince and William Wykeham (11).

Death of the Black Prince (12), and subsequent return of Gaunt to power, and disgrace of Wykeham (14).

1377. Death of Edward III. (15, 16).

(4) WYCLIF AND POLITICS

1377. Gaunt, by his known opposition to the clergy, wins Wyclif to his side.

Wyclif, summoned to appear before the bishop of London at St. Paul's, goes attended by Gaunt and Percy; the conference broken up by the citizens, partly from respect for their bishop and partly from hatred of Gaunt (18, 19).

Wyclif, consulted by parliament as to the payment of Peter's Pence, refutes the claim but does not advise non-payment.

1378. Wyclif, again summoned before the bishop of London, is protected by the Black Prince's widow.

The beginning of the Great Schism—or the division of the Church under two rival popes; England declares for Urban VI., France for Clement VII.

(5) THE RISING OF THE COMMONS

1379. A graduated Poll-tax levied (29).
 1380. A second Poll-tax levied to supply money for the French war.

John of Gaunt sent as envoy to Scotland, and appointed Lieutenant of the Marches.

1381. The Rising (30-39).

Causes (a) The Poll-tax, which served as one of the main pretexts.
 (b) Discontent arising from the consequences of the Black Death and the Statutes of Labourers—especially the desire to be rid of villein service.
 (c) Discontent with the government—particularly in London, where Gaunt was exceedingly unpopular.

Results (a) Immediate: the king granted charters of immunity to the peasants (35), which he afterwards was obliged by parliament to recall (36); many of the rioters put to death (37).
 (b) Subsequent: the landlords were really frightened, and found it impossible to continue to exact villein service. From this time onward serfdom fell rapidly into decay.

(6) WYCLIF AS A REFORMER IN DOCTRINE

1381. Wyclif condemned to silence at Oxford; he now finds no help from Gaunt, who had merely used him politically.
 1382. Parliament calls upon the archbishop of Canterbury to proceed against Wyclif and his fellow Lollards; many people believed that the Lollards had promoted the Rising (43-45).
 Wyclif begins to translate the Bible.
 1383. Wyclif, summoned to appear at Rome, excuses himself on the plea of ill-health (see his letter to the pope, 46).
 The Scots invade Northumberland; John of Gaunt effects little against them.
 1384. Wyclif dies of paralysis.

(7) THE KING AND THE NOBLES

1385. The Earl of March is recognised as heir-presumptive (*cf.* genealogical tree, 68).

Richard's ineffectual campaign in Scotland; to draw off the English forces France had sent John de Vienne earlier in the year into Scotland with considerable reinforcements; by refusing to come to an engagement, the Scots compel Richard to retreat, with great loss to his vast army, from want of provisions; in the meantime they had been ravaging the North of England.

Michael de la Pole made earl of Suffolk.

1386. John of Gaunt goes to Spain for three years.

The earl of Suffolk, Richard's chancellor, is impeached and a council of eleven nominated by parliament to sit for one year to regulate the kingdom and the royal household (49).

De Vere made duke of Ireland.

1387. Richard gets the judges to declare the council illegal; thereupon the Lords Appellant (including Gloucester, Arundel, Derby, Nottingham, and Warwick) take up arms and win the Battle of Radcot Bridge (50).

1388. The Merciless Parliament impeaches the king's favourites, especially Ireland and Suffolk (51); battle of Otterburn (53).

1389. Richard declares himself of age and takes affairs into his own hands.

Eight years of good government.

(8) ANTI-PAPAL LEGISLATION

1390. Statute of Provisors; a re-enactment of the measure of 1351 (*cf.* Part i. 34).

1391. Statute of Mortmain; a re-enactment of a statute passed 1279; it was directed against the undue acquisition of land by the Church.

1393. Statute of Praemunire; enforcing the earlier statute of 1353 (*cf.* part i. 34).

(9) RICHARD'S PEACE POLICY

1394. Death of the queen (Anne of Bohemia).
 Expedition to Ireland (56).
 More troubles with the nobles, who try to thwart the king in his efforts to secure peace with France.

1395. A protest made to parliament by the Lollards against the power and abuses of the clergy.

1396. The king marries Isabella of France and thus secures peace for twenty-five years.
 Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, persecutes the Lollards, but is himself banished in the following year.

(10) THE KING ABSOLUTE

1397. The king begins to govern badly.
 Parliament presenting Bills of Complaint, Richard replies by attacking the Lords Appellant; Gloucester dies in prison and Arundel (brother of the Archbishop) is beheaded, while Warwick is imprisoned for life (57).

1398. The Parliament of Shrewsbury makes the king absolute by (a) annulling all the acts of the Merciless Parliament, (b) granting customs to the king for life, and (c) deputing all its powers to a committee of eight of its members (58).
 Banishment of Norfolk and Hereford (60).

1399. Death of John of Gaunt; his estates seized by Richard (63).
 The king sets out for Ireland.
 Hereford—now Duke of Lancaster—lands in England (64) to claim his father's estates; the king's uncle, Edmund, duke of York, who had been left as regent, joins him; Richard returning from Ireland is compelled to surrender; brought to London, he resigns the crown to his cousin (65) and is then deposed. Lancaster succeeds as Henry IV. (67).

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